

Ross Dowson archives – Correspondence -- 1960

- 01_09 Letter to Farrell [Dobbs, SWP]: report on election campaign and militant slate in Toronto Teamsters union
- 01_14 Letter to Vic Haines, Kingston (ON) re distribution of leaflet at movie “On the Beach”
- 01_16 Letter to Pioneer Publishers (NY) Dear Anne: re caution with Winnipeg contact
- 02_06 +Letter to Ruth (Bullock, Vancouver): trouble getting outside speakers for the Toronto Forum; the BC liaison cttee.; our moves to the Peace Congress; the BC paper editor, renting a bookstore in Vancouver, on “deep entry,” personnel, our attitude toward the CCF on Bomarc bases; local issues 4pp)
- 03_10 Letter: To Whom it may Concern: re death of Bessie, wife (?) of the late Jack MacDonald, to a relative in Detroit(?)
- 03_17 Letter to Percy: re. Gerry Healy from Britain
- 03_17B Letter to Peter (Camejo?, from SWP file) re Toronto activities, Negro struggle
- 04_00 (Undated, in April file) Document to SWP (US) convention: **A Tribute to American revolutionaries, from RD, S.E.L.**
- 04_01 +Letter to Ruth (Bullock, Vancouver): regret to hear store closed; debate on centre’s donation to the SWP, on supporting Coldwell’s statement
- 04_05 Letter to Tom (Kerry, SWP file) re: speaker available for Toronto May Day celebration
- 04_05B Letter to Carl (Skoglund, SWP) and the assembled celebrants of your birthday, by RD, S.E.L.
- 04_15 Letter to Hugh Garner, re: his articles on Spain (Ref. Henry Beatrice — RD’s 1972 article on this Canadian: “Canada & the Civil War in Spain, A suppressed page in Canadian history”)
- 04_15B Letter to George Weaver (author), North Surrey BC re: re-publication of his popular book on history
- 04_25 Obit: “George “Paddy” Stanton dead

06_04	Letter to Ruth & Jerry (Houle, Vancouver) re opening of new bookstore
06_10	Letter to Dear Joe (Johnson), Minneapolis, on Ontario activities, his activity in the US
07_03	Letter to Ruth & Jerry (Houle, Vancouver) re: anti fall-out shelter demos and Ernie Tate's arrest; the next Vanguard tour
07_18	Letter incl. note on Japan from <u>Time</u> , to Ruth & Jerry (Houle, Vancouver) on setting up a Human Rights Cttee.
07_31	Letter and written notes to Jerry & Ruth (Houle, Vancouver) re conflicts in the two Vancouver branches; tour report
07_31B	Letter to John R., Gravenhurst re: progress of the Vanguard tour, joint YS-CP youth picket line; his studies
08_00	Internal Bulletin: 3 documents by P. Kent: "The Labor Party and our immediate tasks" (the developing New Party) ; "Balance Sheet of Regroupment,;" " The Anti-War Fight – new Opportunities"
08_06	Letter to comrade Rita (SWP file) Tour visit to Northern States to talk about the new Canadian labor party?
08_07	+Letter to Ruth and Reg (Bullock, Vancouver): Toronto Forum attendance and bookstore taking off; pacifist and Stalinist opposition at nuclear disarmament protests; personnel issues
09_03	Letter to Howard Mayhew, SWP, Chicago, Ill. US) re possible Canadian union speakers on the American labor party
09_08	Letter to Ruth & Jerry (Houle, Vancouver) re RD's arrival in BC for NC meeting; discussion of documents
09_15	Letter to Tim Wohlforth, (YSA - SWP) re support for new youth publication in the US
09_16	Letter to Gerry McKinney, Brandon (MB) re the Vanguard tour, the pre-convention document discussion, Winnipeg work
09_25	Minutes of N.C. - S.E.L. Toronto incl. discussion name of new national movement
09_28	Letter to Joe (Johnson, SWP) Minneapolis; RD's return from convention in BC, anti-fall-out shelter publicity
09_28B	Letter to Comrade Kerry (SWP, New York) re announcement of unified

09_30	Canadian movement Letter to <i>The Militant</i> (Joe [Hansen, SWP New York] re Canadian comrade G. McKinney's uninformed article)
09_30B	Letter to Jerry (Houle, Vancouver) re work and developments in Vancouver; the problem of the two branches; candidates for the (US) Trotsky school; Malcolm Bruce's history of the CPC
09_99	B.C. Branch 1 Internal Bulletin item: ``Letter to Branch No. 1 from National Secretary``
10_12	Handwritten letter to Ruth & Jerry (Houle, Vancouver) re their articles, the tour's progress, possible BC split
11_01	Letter to Jerry (Houle, Vancouver) re sub drive, paper articles mixup, Teamsters union situation, New movement youth
11_10	Letter to Jerry (Houle) & Malcolm (Bruce) re: BC article for next issue of <i>Workers Vanguard</i>
11_13 11_16	Letter to Percy, special appeal for funds for British comrades, by RD Minutes meeting Toronto S.E.L.
12_15	Letter to Ruth & Jerry (Houle, Vancouver): Teamsters forces consolidating, Vancouver inter-branch relations
12_28	Letter to Hannah (SWP file) recruiting proletarians in Toronto; Ernie (Tate) fired for organizing at work
12_29	Letter to (Vancouver Branch 1 and 2) Comrades: delay in receiving Minutes; criticism of the decision to hold an FPCC picket line, operation of the City Executive designed for fusion in action of the branches
12_99	(Undated found in 1960-61) Letter to Howard Pawley (Winnipeg) seeking information on support for the New Party in Manitoba

✓
Kerwin
January 1, 1960

Dear Ruth; *Bullak*

Sorry to have been so long in answering your November 23rd letter--and now there is your December 23rd letter.

Let me take up the latest first. I have known Jerry as a revolutionary socialist and as a man for I guess 6 or 7 years now. He is one of the most dedicated socialists I have met. He has a good grasp of our ideas and has a strong loyalty to our movement. Some of his strong points politically are his honesty, and his doggedness. But I know from my own experience that these characteristics have been on occasion transformed into something quite far removed from their origins.

I have never known him to be as abusive, as arrogant and as intolerant as you suggest in your letter but I do not find your presentations so far removed from certain episodic experiences that I have had to disbelieve them.

Obviously such behaviour cannot be ignored. It is not only in the interest of the party in general but in the interests of developing comrade Jerry himself as the ~~most~~ effective revolutionary that we all know he aspires to be that we come to grips with this problem.

Of course as you well know he is not an agent of the PC or of Toronto endowed with any special powers or authorities. Even if in some way we were able to in some way invest ourselves with such authority you well know that it is completely contrary to all our concepts of organization. Jerry is a member of the Vancouver branch--like any other member subject to the discipline of the Vancouver branch in this case Branch 2. If he is to be expected to conduct himself in anyway different from others it would be in a way that accurately reflected his strikingly positive features which we all know

I am sure that we are all aware of what lies behind Jerry's conduct as you describe it (and which I am not questioning). He has in the face of the possibilities as he sees them before us and the responsibilities as he sees are ours developed a great impatience about the situation there. It appears obvious that he want to bring about immediate unity of the two branches. In his impatience to realize this he has drawn some very sharp conclusions about everyone involved in the situation which possibly have certain elements of truth but which are not a balanced and rational evaluation.

I think that you comrades there should bring him up to a halt. No one, no matter what the scope of his contribution has the right ~~to~~ interfere in the normal processes of the meetings, to heckle, interject etc. No one has the right to label any other comrade anyone's stooge, to be insulting or abusive. I think there are many ways of coming to grips with such situations. He can be ruled out of order

out of order, he can be asked to withdraw, to apologize, he can be censored, he can be asked to leave the meeting. I know you knew about these various methods of assuring proper comradely relations are maintained in our branch meetings. and city executive meetings.

I have only raised ~~the~~ previously what I think lies behind Jerry's conduct not in anyway as an apology--there can be none if his conduct has been as you say. I raise it primarily so that you and the rest of the comrades ~~will~~ watch that you ~~do not~~ ~~take any intemperate actions.~~

For instance do you think anything particularly is gained by removing Jerry from the city executive. The motivation outlined in Shelly's note are factional--that he has not supported the decisions of Branch 2 or the decisions at the national conference as Shelley understands them--and that he has carried on a disruptive and insulting campaign against other branch 2 delegates. Aside from Jerry Branch 2 is well represented--having the majority without counting him. He certainly doesn't represent the viewpoint of anyone in Branch 1 on the decisions of the national conference. ---on the decisions to move out. Grieve in side little aside; is still campaigning against the convention orientation. The matter of personal relations will of course be resolved on the branch plane where they are only being carried over from onto the city executive. I would be much concerned about the impact of any such action on Branch 1. The whole thing comes at a bad time too--for with Malcolm's letter which I understand you are voting on you are asking the PC to affirm or deny your interpretation of the convention opinion on the aims and objectives, the character of the city executive.

I believe that Malcolm's interpretation of the convention decision is substantially correct--I would only move out a little more from it. The PC will be informing you of its opinion to this effect. I would think that this will have a settling effect on the situation and probably make such organizational moves as Shelly suggests not only unnecessary but inadvisable.

It is now twelve midnight and I must close. Will pick up many of the other matters you raise in your letters at first opportunity.

fraternally

Ross

January 9, 1960

SWP

Dear Farrell;

We received your very nice letter on the teamsters paper. Gave all concerned a lift. Vince also sent along a note and is losing us the file of Local 544's paper. The election is now underway--ballots will be cast all this week-up until Thursday. The final days of the campaign saw a flood of red baiting attacks against us. Some of them were so pureille that we decided to let them pass. However one came out Thursday night that we felt we should meet head on with a reply which in passing would handle all the rest. We worked it out Thursday night and hit the major barnes Friday with it. + am enclosing a copy. Incidentally one of the teamsters involed in this arson charge was picked up Sunday by the police. Davidson has also been smeared by one of the bosses as having been paid off by him. Keep his mouth shut about certain grievances in that particular shop.. This Gill Transport arson case is a peculiar one --Hoffa I understand has loaned this outfit considerable money--it has been trying to borrow more money when along comes this \$300,000 fire in the midst of a strike. The case has been hanging around the courts for a long time. On Saturday FWD held a meeting for all teamsters. It was a big success. Some fifty men turned out--the local usually mobilizes 100. Our boys handled themselves well and it would seem that we will be seriously cutting into one of the caucuses--taking over its best elements. The voting started Sunday and the poll was heavy--which we think favors us. A core of the fifty were fellows who had never attended a local meeting or at least do not attend them. You will recall what the old man said about those who are active in the locals today (1938) and those who are absenting themselves from the meetings. Another thing in our favor is that the voting will be on the up and up. The government is ~~handling~~ conducting the whole thing--one of our boys is a scrutineer. Hard to say how it will go. But it would seem that it is highly possible that we can win or at least take a couple of posts. Thursday night the investigation committee opens up. We will be working out our strategy on this in the next couple of days. The key fellows in the caucus have grown considerably. I am confident that we can assimilate them all. They are leaning heavily on us for guidance. Biggest break we have ever had and is going to really proletarianize the branch. If we win we will manage to make all kinds of connections in other locals. Of course there will be all kinds of problems arise. We are coming across all kinds of teamsters who are not only militants but radicals politically. Hard to say what effect the red baiting is going to have on the vote but many fellows ~~now~~ talk quite proudly about their intentions of voting the Red Star Slate. One of our boys silently listened to a lengthy and very knowledgeable discussion between two militants we did not previously know about Lenin-Trotsky and the Russian Revolution.

All this and several other matters make it impossible for me to attend the plenum this coming week-end. I am having to play the leading role in this above situation. Way behind in the paper--a lot of turmoil in Vancouver these days and so forth. While he will be able to contribute little or nothing we would like to propose that our confrere at the school be seated as a fraternal delegate. I think that he is a very promising comrade and it would be an invaluable experience. Extend our greetings to the assembly

fraternally

Ross

Vic Haines
Kingston

Dear Vic;

We have a most important project underway which I know you will be interested in and I hope will feel yourself in a position to participate in. It is revolving around the leaflet--a copy of which I enclose.

We started this leaflet off on a modest basis. We thought we would hit the University of Toronto campus and cover as many of the audiences who have just see the movie On the Beach as possible. Of course we were ready for anything else that came out of it. And it is good to report that plenty has.

This mornings mail brought us a letter from the secretary of the Alberta section of the CCF. They think that the leaflet is terrific and want to know the cost of running it off with a couple of minor changes for distribution in that province. We also got a letter from a chap we met on one of the tours in Kenora----he asks for 2,000 copies as the leaflet is , for distribution is his area. We are expecting many more such requests on the basis of the reception that we have had at the various points we have distributed it.

We have covered the University of Toronto campus--it was warmly received. We have also done McMaster where one of our boys was approached by the ~~leading CCF~~ campus CCF youth leader. He thought the leaflet excellent and wanted to know what it would cost for them to put their name on it for distribution. We wrote him this information yesterday and should get a reply shortly. The response has been very good at the Odson Carlton theater. We have been covering the evening audiences which on the weekend numbers about 2,000 a day--Thurs-Fri-Saturday. A sub came in yesterday and today we got a phone call from an interested fellow.

And so this morning I thought how excellent it would be to have the leaflet distributed at Queens. Perhaps the Campus CCF club would like copies with their imprint on it. It cost ~~approx~~ \$5 a thousand mailing costs included. Are you a member of the club and if not you probably know the key persons to approach about this. Then again if they are not a very dynamic force possibly you with the help of someone else would be prepared to distribute it. You probably know someone who would get a big bang out of distributing it with you. Of course if you did it we would be pleased to send down as many as you think could be easily put inot the campus free of charge. We have many thousand here waiting for distribution. We havent touched the factories yet

Let me know what you think of this proposition just as soon as possible.

And how are things with you otherwise. Thought we were going to have the pleasure of a visit from you over the New Year.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

THERE IS STILL TIME

Time to stop the nuclear arms drive that can only end in war.

Time to prevent the H Bomb destruction of the cultural achievements of the ages and the radio-active poisoning of mankind.

Act Now to block the nuclear armament of the Bomarc missiles and construction of the bases now underway at North Bay and Mont Laurier.

Act Now to prevent the Diefenbaker government from arming the RCAF Maritime Command and the Royal Canadian Navy with atomic weapons.

Act Now to defeat the equipment of the Canadian infantry brigade and the 12 squadron air division in Europe with nuclear armed CF104 fighter aircraft and nuclear armed Lacrosse missiles.

While the prime minister greeted the petition presented by the University of Toronto Faculty Committee for Nuclear Disarmament with assurances that his government was doing all that it could to promote disarmament, all the above actions had been signed and sealed and were being acted upon.

Canada is stepping up its nuclear armament — all in the name of defence — when it is transparently clear that there is no defence in an H Bomb war.

FORWARD your protests to the Diefenbaker government in the form of resolutions from your home and school club, your church group, your neighborhood cultural or social organization, from your trade union.

BACK UP and aid in the organization on a more massive scale such inspiring actions as the Montreal student motorcade on Ottawa demanding a halt to the installation of nuclear arms on Canadian soil.

SUPPORT CCF house leader Argue in his Christmas pledge that the CCF MP's will "strongly oppose the placing of nuclear weapons on Canadian soil."

ENCOURAGE the CCF MP's to live up to and to act upon M. J. Coldwell's statement that "the time has come when our national wasteful expenditures on obsolete planes and so-called defensive installations must be brought to an end", and that "we must expose the futile expenditures that deny to our people and the people of the world the blessings that science and the atomic age should shower upon the world."

NOT BOMBS AND GUNS—but housing, schools, a hospital plan, for the Canadian People

JOIN in the efforts to build a mighty labor party that can lay down the foundations for a new society of peace and plenty.

Read the Monthly - WORKERS VANGUARD - 12 issues 50 cents

Published by the SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE — 81 Queen St. W., Toronto.

Sunday Jan 16, 1960

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Anne;

In all probability you have received some correspondence recently from a George Nasir, 606 Matheson, Winnipeg, Manitoba, with regards to books for the stocking of a store that he has been contemplating setting up for sometime.

I would like to caution you on this matter. Nasir is an excellent man, a great partisan of our ideas however he has serious and deep rooted mental difficulties which have been coming to the surface periodically over the past few years enforcing his incarceration in various institutions. He is actually a brilliant man--an excellent poet, a top flight linguist and if he could only overcome these periodic bouts of mental illness could do much for the movement. For the past two years, upon the request of his mother who used to be in the CP I have been trying to keep our correspondence with him to a minimum. But in the past two months he has been barraging us with letters containing along with other proposals the idea of setting up a store. I have attempted to discourage him and direct his energies along other paths which would not be so committal, however I see that he is hell bent on opening this store. Of course it is not at all excluded that this is just what he needs.

Possibly you have gone ahead and shipped him stock. I doubt if he has sent you cash as I think that he has very little. My suggestion is this---~~xxxx~~ while it will be some trouble--that you ship him material just as he needs it---in no quantity, but in variety, one and two copies. There is another possibility that we might be able to stabilize this situation as I hear that a comrade who has been in Vancouver for a while may be going to Winnipeg, which is close to his home. I intend to write him to acquaint him with the situation and hurry his arrival in Winnipeg. This could open up into something very good for us but it could also turn into a minor debacle.

Would you let me know how you have met this situation. I am anxious that we do not appear to be refusing him books and pamphlets, perhaps we can share the risk.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Dear Ruth;

Thanks for the various enclosures with your last letter. No union label on Lil's cards! How did you like the Socialist Forum card? And while I think of it-- ~~never~~ in a couple of letters you have expressed surprise that our forum has not been able to move out. Last week we had an experience. We had set up a panel to discuss Racism which by the time we came to hold it was even more important in the light of the international incidents of ~~anti-Semitism~~ ^{anti-Semitism}. We call ourselves the Vanguard Forum of course to give a speaker a feeling that he can appear on the forum platform without identification ~~with~~ with the terrible Socialist Educational League. Well our educational committee books a Negro chap who came to our banquet, longtime reader of our paper-- formerly on the editorial board of a Negro paper that the Stalinists published a while back. He broke away from the LPP sometime before the 20th Congress. Fine but he asked that his name not be announced at the previous forum and that we not advertise it. We approach a few other likely persons, not all of them directly but even have a former comrade now an organizer in the ILGWU approach a couple. Vanguard Forum sponsored by the SEL??? No dice. Then we get a chap, former Lovestonite, former left wing CCF activist still in the CCF, circulating in and around the Labor Forum-- Rodenthal-M Dawson. Sure he will speak. The Saturday before the forum he manages to get in touch with us to tell us that he has consulted his confreres in the Labor Forum and they have told him that they do not think that he should appear on the Vanguard Forum as it may jeopardize the good relations that they seem to think that they have established with the CCF Brass here in Toronto. So there we were--I stepped in and we had an all-SEL panel. You see there isn't the number of independent leftists in the Toronto area that there are in Vancouver--leftists who act freely and ~~unconcerned~~ ^{unconcerned} with various pressures. The lines are drawn sharper here in this political capital of Canada.

Well, it is good to see that we have the liason committee. Hope Shelley got the lists and that everything proved to be in tip top shape for renewal work. And I sincerely hope that this is only the beginning ~~with the SEL~~ Good to read your notes on the meeting and of Gerry's enthusiasm. I see that the social will be coming off tonight. That is a much faster move than I had hoped possible at this time. I hope that it comes off well. All the agreements are farther than I had even hope we could go at this time. Yes it certainly is the correct thing to distribute the leaflet with the headquarters address. We only sent 1,000 copies of the 81 Queen address as we were instructed to do. On the Beach closed down here Thursday night and probably won't be around for a few weeks. Of course we distributed the leaflet much further because we think that it is, while more effective at the theatre, useful anywhere. We have covered all the major accessible factories in the Toronto area. A sub came in from the distribution at a large provincially-operated technical school. I would think that it would be good to mix the leaflet up a bit so that some students and certainly the most interested at UBC will come across a Vancouver address.

What is so mysterious about the PC concern over the move that we made with regards to the Peace Congress? It wasn't at all a matter of attending a Stalinist function. We had a political proposition to put forward to an organization which is in general an opponent political organization. We don't agree with their non-class position at all. In fact they are opponents of our viewpoint and consciously oppose any and all attempts to raise the class question with regards to the fight against war. I did not go down to ask questions, to distribute a leaflet etc etc. In the name of the SEL I proposed that we would join with them in the transformation of the congress into a united front. We have of course kept tenuous connections with this movement which is really quite hopeless but we considered this a totally different matter

I think such an action requires the political agreement of the PC of the movement. In this case the proposition came down to the Toronto branch from the PC, but should it have come before the branch first I think that I would certainly have referred it for more detailed discussion to the PC before the SHL took action. With regards to the proposition that the PC put forward--striking off a liaison committee. I don't at all understand your comment about removing editors. This I am really concerned about. I am wondering if Malcolm could possibly have understood it that way. Oh yes we knew about Seattle ~~branch~~. But we received a letter from Bill which very casually commented that probably none of them would be able to get down to Seattle. I immediately wrote Farrell to see if he could not go up to Vancouver and at the same time Bill to the effect that it was absolutely essential that he and a considerable number of others go to Seattle. But the minutes are quite clear on this.

"It hopes that the visit of Comrade Dobbs to the area may resolve this pressing problem (of a co-ordinating committee) in a satisfactory manner."

Then it goes on

"Should this not happen the PC has decided on the following course of action. The PC hopes---should this not happen. I think that this is clear. Since our hopes of a successful Seattle meeting have been realized why then the striking off of a comrade from (one) and another from (two) proves unnecessary. But with regards to the western editor. The line reads that the co-ordinating committee "find an acceptable western editor if Malcolm proves unacceptable to branch one." We of course with that are deciding nothing but posing a problem for solution. "e are now talking about working together on a mutually satisfactory basis. We want articles for the paper. It was with the agreement of the united branch that Malcolm be the Vancouver editor. Now a new agreement has to be arrived at and one that is agreeable to ~~both~~ separate entities. I am of course convinced that Malcolm is by all counts the most qualified but a lot of things have happened out there and group one may think other wise now. For instance Gerry McKinney sent two articles into the paper. Neither of them came through Malcolm. I am sure that if Gerry did not know other comrades who Gerry must have talked with knew, that all such material is to come to us through Malcolm. But they came in direct. Possibly Malcolm is not satisfactory to them. I suppose we could have added something in the minutes to make it unmistakably clear ~~namely~~ that we consider that Malcolm should retain this office but who in all seriousness could think we have another opinion. All I think that we are doing with that sentence is posing a question which of course may not really be a question at all. If perchance Malcolm interpreted this the same way you apparently do I would appreciate it if you would let me know at once

I should tell you that a short while back Bill wrote me a long letter of my offenses against the party and Branch 2. ~~Amongst~~ Amongst the many crimes mentioned is my partisan support of Branch 2. I wrote him a very firm reply and the result has been probably a rupture in correspondence between himself and myself. I would imagine that some other comrade will carry on the mail connections which is just as well as it would appear that he has difficulty in presenting a consistent and cohesive picture of things. That is probably what is behind Berching's comment that I either misunderstood Bill with regards to the problem of the store or else Bill incorrectly presented the facts. But the lease on the store is for our protection--by granting us that they didn't take us and \$100 a month for that store on the basis of what I found out about Vancouver rents and subsequent rental propositions Bill mentioned to me is no "suckers" rent for that location. Now it may not be the location for a book store that I thought it was and it may not be many other things I thought--however this is just a lot of backbiting. I am no longer concerned with the matter other than to be of help in anyway they might think possible--which of course was my original concern.

Good to hear about Bill white. Is he attending one of the branch meetings? If he isn't I wonder if you would send me his address....so that we can handle him as a member at large.

Come off it now! I never at anytime have said that the entry, the entry of 1952 was a mistake. I do concede that the entrist tactic is a tricky one--particularly a

what has been called a longterm or deep entry--entry ~~of the type~~ not of the type that is a fusion with a viable leftwing formation in the entered organization. We have found that this type of entry has become for some a comfortable home and develops into liquidationism--our Fablists--Comhranists. While the main avenue for us into the developing labor party is the trade unions--many of us are not unionists. One of the components of the new party which we must do serious work in and get ourselves into a position to do it--is the CCF constituency club. We never at any time pulled all our forces out of the constituency clubs. But when there was little to gain from activating ourselves in the constituency organizations we maintained merely a thread of connection freeing ourselves to work elsewhere. ~~Next~~ in Ontario the next period will see a little more interest in the clubs--what with the discussion of program for the new party. In BC what with an election in the offing and the CCF being the vehicle of the new party I would think that there would be considerable value in maintaining our connections with the CCF and where we have comrades who have none to get them to take out membership. Of course there is no way of formally achieving this. Comrades have to see and become convinced by life that there is some value in this. Those who ~~in~~ theory convinces have to demonstrate with facts to the others.

Feb 8, 1960

A financial drive report? Well, finally we received \$167.00 from Branch 1. It appears that they raised 267 but that they took it upon themselves in the face of an emergency to loan 100 of it to the bookstore. We do not know how the total sum was raised and if these who contributed were those who approved of the 100 dollar loan. At anyrate they were credited with 167 dollars, with the Vanguard making no loans or investments. I think the less said about this the better. Do you think at this stage there is any point in a round-up report encompassing this and other later donations? You know we are not far from another financial drive. If you recall we decided to have that last drive earlier than usual so that we could hold this years financial drive in the Spring.

As to Jerry and Ruth coming to Vancouver. Ruth has just had her other child, so I haven't had much opportunity to talk with her the last while. Personally I am opposed to Jerry going to Vancouver and I intend to raise this matter at the next PC. Jerry is one of our most experienced comrades and we do not have very many. ...not near as many as you have. Before we had the Socialist Information Center and the favorable developments around it, when there was the problem of more open work, utilization of the paper I was of the opinion that there was considerable merit in sending someone from here who could take on this work--you will recall that we had at onetime sort of agreed that Harold or someone would move out in this way. I know that Jerry would be able to make a considerable contribution to Vancouver as he has made here. However I think things in Vancouver are now healthier than they have been for a longtime, possibly than they have ever been. We have real problems here and one of them is the wide gap in experience and knowledge between the majority of the comrades and one or two others. Jerry is one of our more knowledgeable comrades--and for that matter so is Ruth. Of our woman comrades Ruth and Pat Mitchell are at this time the only ones able to competently explain our views. I have pointed this out to Jerry but he is a determined man. Happily last night we ~~have~~ recruited a comrade who was in the movement when I first joined and who has been coming around again ~~over~~ over the past year--~~he~~ should be of considerable ~~help~~ help with this problem.

Re the leaflet and the part on Coldwell. I don't think that it is giving too prominent a place to the CCF. After all the question is a political one. The CCF has a motion on the order paper opposing nuclear armament of the Bomarc bases. If you are to talk about political action you can't get around the CCF--~~an~~ all the less so when they have said in words part of what you say. I don't think that ~~Mr~~ Coldwell or ~~Argue~~ would consider the leaflet as exactly complementary. Support ~~Argue~~ is his pledge that he will do so and so. Encourage the CCF MP's to live up to and to act upon so and so.

utilizing
 How could one show less confidence? in the CCF MP's? I see nothing wrong in the ~~the~~ ~~fact~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~very~~ ~~devices~~ ~~that~~ ~~millions~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~tax~~ ~~payers~~ ~~monies~~ ~~are~~ ~~spent~~ ~~on~~, allegedly for defence, are not even of any value from the point of view of defence. This must raise many questions in the minds of the more advanced workers. The fact that there is no defence is indeed a powerful argument against military expenditures. ~~that~~ I do not see we should ignore this point. I think that the quote we gave is a good one—that there is nothing wrong with it at all. Of course Coldwell holds many positions that we do not agree with at all, but we only asked the Canadian people to see that the MP's life up to this one

I must say that the reports of the social activity of the branch are really terrific. Liquor for us is a big problem since we have been unable to get a licence and our headquarters is so closely tied in with the store. The enforcement of the liquor law is very strict here in Toronto—there are continual reports of raids, heavy fines and imprisonments.

I suppose you know that Gerry has changed his mind about going to Winnipeg area. In many ways this is too bad as George Nasir, who you possibly met when he was in Vancouver a few years ago, appears to be in better health these days and is very anxious to build a branch. George is unfortunately is a very badly disturbed person and needs someone else's help. Even Gerry McK would be a sobering and balancing factor.

All in all, Ruth, it would seem to me that the experience with Heins, an inevitable part of ~~some~~ ~~political~~ ~~life~~, has been a good one. The branch seems to have reacted firmly and seriously. It cannot but help to build up the authority and inner cohesion of the branch in all the new members' eyes

Still getting long letters from Grieve. Have delayed answering them. Of course there is a lot of crap in them. But I have read the statement he made on Cox, the articles in the Pacific Tribune and of course I had about a two hour debate with Leo Nimsick ~~and~~ the last tour on the way back on the same general matter. I believe that Grieve's position on Cox is a correct one. You will note that the Mid-December Vanguard carried a note on this matter. I would be interested to know your opinion on this note. I suppose you ~~read~~ in the previous issue the report of the position that the UE took on a very clear cut resolution of support of the new labor party. It may well be worthwhile amplifying the points touched upon in the Mid-December issue page 4. In fact we would very much appreciate information if only clippings as to what is taking place in BC with regards to the Labor Party. The Sask Commonwealth keeps us in touch with developments in the Prairies. But the CCF News is not only poor but is a monthly—as for the Pacific Tribune we can place no reliance whatsoever on it. What do the comrades think of that column we have been running on developments in and around the labor party? Too bad Malcolm was unable to send us something on Harold Winch. But you will note I wove it into the lead article of the Mid-January issue. What is the news out there for this issue? Am I right in believing that the leftists suffered a severe blow in the Vancouver Labor Council elections.

warmest regards

Ross

Will try & pick up your letter tonight, Reg!

March 10, 1960
81 Queen Street W
Toronto 1, Ont.

To whom it may concern;

I would gather that this letter would fall into the hands of the late Jack MacDonald's brother's hands. I seem to recall some years ago, around 1939, meeting the son of this brother at Jack's home on Victor. He was in Highland uniform if I recall correctly.

Upon phoning Bessie last week I was shocked to find that she had died. I have maintained a contact with her, not as regular as I would have liked, ever since Mac died. My latest phone call was to arrange an evening with her so that I could straighten out several matters with regards to Mac's life---I have already written a short biography that found publication in a working class paper. But for sometime now I have been planning to make a more detailed study of a period and a movement in which Mac played a pivotal role. Bessie's recollections would have been invaluable and I know that she would have been very happy to aid me in any way that she could.

Unfortunately Bessie is now gone. But I am wondering if among her personal effects if there are not letters, documents, photos etc that would be of help to me. When Mac died Bessie gave all his books to the Woodbine CCF but she gave me what was actually the more valuable material--his pamphlet collection. I have no idea whether Bessie tended to hold onto and treasure momentos of the type that I am interested in. I would think that she did. I am most anxious to know if she did and if they are in your possession if you would kindly make them accessible to me.

I would appreciate it very much if you could throw some light on this matter. I would like to receive any material of this type or if this is not satisfactory, permission from you when I am next in Detroit to drop around to your home and have the opportunity to go through any material that you would make accessible to me.

Since starting this note I have contacted a Mr Bert Groves' wife. Bert who was a very close friend of Mac's and of Bessie also is out of town. But his wife tells me that they did not know that Bessie died. She also tells me that she thinks that I am mistaken--that this letter will fall into the hands of Bessie's sister

Whatever the case may be I would appreciate hearing from you

sincerely

Ross Dowson

March 17, 1960

Dear Percy;

Hope you got the proof copy of Where is Britain Going alright. Our Britisher Gerry Healy brought it over to show us when he was here a couple of weeks ago. I knew if you have not read it that you would enjoy it—one of the old man's most witty yet most meaty writings that is extremely timely and useful wherever there is a large reformist movement. It hasn't come off the presses yet. They have to squeeze it in with much other work they handle in their commercial print shop.

I am enclosing a letter that will interest you. Of course Gerry's comments about the progress and consolidation of our cadre here are important, ~~if not~~ even if they perhaps picture the progress as being larger than it actually has been over the past yer. There is certainly no doubt that their group has made tremendous progress in building the cadre. The picture he gave us was of a very solid, militant aggressive force extremely well rooted in the unions. Of course the defection of Fryer which got a big play from our opponents was a loss—although Gerry thinks he may well come back under different conditions but the past couple of years has actually seen a great success in consolidating a fair large galaxy of ex-CP intellectuals into the movement. And that is really something because there was never ever a more solidly proletarian and militant group than what we now have in Britain, where an intellectual would really have to break from his class and identify himself completely with the working class.

Healy was over for a conference, which was well attended by southern friends, to discuss problems of the international. For certain reasons we held no public affairs or I would have written you in the hope that you could have come in. I gave him a little aid, as he notes in his letter, which I am sure would have been heartily approved.

A couple of our youth, temporarily unemployed had a most valuable trip to Ottawa, Montreal and Kingston. Their prime purposes was to make friends on the campus; they also had quite a few sessions with Henri Gagnon and company. Our relations with Gagon are still good but they seem to be paralyzed and moving in the direction of the nationalist movement there. The campus experiences were excellent—acouple of meetings, many subs, some literature and a couple of really promising connections. We are fairly busy right now as you can see from the doing of this week end....hoping to swing some forces behind the southern struggle against Woolworths shortly and getting ready for a cross-Canada tour.

warmest regards

Ross

March 17, 1960

✓ Joe Hanson (SWP, New York)

Dear Peter;

(camejo-SWP?)

Joe arrived yesterday after having to stay overnight in Cornwall, and just in time to report to us all the considerable achievements that you wracked up. Haven't had any time yet to talk over how we can hope to follow many of the contacts that you established through to bigger things... but of course that should wait until you return.

But the occasion of this note is twofold—1) to send you a few bucks which I am sure you need badly 2) to suggest that you should try to get back here just as soon as you are able. Everything was underway here last week for us to put on a most important picket line in the heart of downtown Toronto in solidarity with the Negro student struggle and protesting Woolworth discrimination but then Pat ~~Smith~~ got called back to work and Jeff got a job. There were of course other problems—neither Jeff nor Pat have had any experience and while I had tried to keep out of things as much as possible they were apparently going to go ahead with a leaflet into the schools and without having attempted to make contact with the Socialist Forum or any other group—in fact with out getting in touch with John R.

I understand your intention is to stay there to see if we cannot assure that the students go forward with a motorcade. A good idea but we meaning you are not in a very good position to attempt to play any deciding role—primarily because we being Toronto onians are not in any position at all to see them carry through such a project. If I were a Montreal student with doubts as to Montreal's capacity to go ahead in this direction I would take strong exception to your intervening. Not only can we do nothing in reality to help in Montreal but we are not in a position to assure them any help in ~~fact~~ from the Toronto campus. However that is really incidental in many ways

A much more pressing and therefore important matter at this time is that we should carry a demonstration in solidarity with the Negro students who are conducting the most significant class battle in many decades in America. Our American comrades think an action of some effectiveness would be extremely important—they refer to the considerable impact of the demonstration in Holland around the kissing case. You and Joe are the only comrades in a position to ensure that this demonstration in Toronto take on the character we would like. Of course the SEL could put one on on Saturday just like that but we want a much broader one—particularly for the first one which will get the publicity—one that would have much more impact if it were publicized than if the Trotskyists were the only forces who carried the ball. We are angling for a useful to the Negro struggle international incident

We have time to get into Montreal again. As a matter of fact I was suggesting to Joe that we should seriously consider your going to the IS convention and on the way go through Montreal and take Boyer with you.

Warmest regards

The Socialist Educational League
Canada

to the SWP (convention?) ✓ yes

(Found in 1960) (April)

We have been following your splendid struggles against race prejudice, the witch-hunt, the war preparations, and for a socialist America with the warmest feelings of solidarity.

The firm bond between your words and your deeds convinces us that ~~your~~ ^{your} ~~movement~~ ^{movement} is worthy of your great aspirations to strike capitalism at its US control point and thereby make possible a world of peace where man will be able to develop to his fullest and as yet undreamed of capacities. Your generation is destined to bring to fruition the seeds that have been developed and nurtured by those who have gone before. In your movement we see the promise of fulfilment of Leon Trotsky's prediction that Marxism will find its highest expression on North American soil.

Socialist clarity in your discussions !

Socialist unity and militancy in your ranks ! And great advances will be yours.

The Socialist Educational League

Ross Dowson
secretary treasurer of

April 1, 1960

Vancouver;

Dear Ruth

I mean to write you again very shortly but right now I would like to make a few comments on the minutes--some of them I should have taken up before.

Shocked to read in the most recent minutes about the store. We haven't heard a word on this direct. And of course not only are we concerned as it is quite a set back in my opinion to our work out there, but we could be of considerable aid I think. I have written Bill a letter referring to the comment in the March 17 minutes asking if we can be of help. There are various ways, determined by the significance of the closing of the store--whether it is for a long period or just a short term arrangement in order to get into what they would consider a better location. I told them that we would be pleased to take over any Pioneer stock--but perhaps the center could use it. If they do go ahead ~~with~~ the closing it would seem to me that besides the periodicals, you would want an assortment of socialist literature. Their stock all or in part would be right up the center's alley

I have also sent a letter to you--~~sent~~ a copy to Malcolm, to Shelley and to Branch 1, with regards to material for the paper on new party developments. I think that it is self explanatory. The North Shore Labor Conference mentioned in the March 17 minutes would possibly be just what we want. ~~Maximum~~ I suppose we are presenting resolutions to the various clubs--Stanley Park, Hillcrest North Van---anywhere where we have influence--that express our viewpoint. We are most anxious to hear about anything and everything related to labor party developments.----particularly items of information that will be useful to us here in the East in our work in the clubs and unions. A couple of seminars have been slated for the next month. But without something coming in from the West, without the backing of some development elsewhere, our comrades are going to have difficulty in raising our views not to speak of passing any motions. There is a general attitude of acceptance of what is and what the top brass have to say

By now you have probably heard from Malcolm that I returned the article on the Marxist Review slander. I hope Malcolm showed you and the comrades who did all the work on the article my covering letter of explanations. And I hope that the comrades took the criticism in good spirit for we do need, and badly, correspondents from the West Coast. I think my criticisms are correct ones and hope that Malcolm will take the time and has the energy to go over the article with its authors. "e are looking forward to re-receiving it in the next week

It might be of considerable aid to us in ~~making~~ making the paper more effective. In fact we here would very much like to have an idea what the comrades think of the paper, ~~how~~ are there any suggestions that could be taken up and put into useful practice. As you have probably noticed we are gradually picking up time we lost a couple of issues back. I expect we will be off the press with this issue by the mid Month and I hope by the time the tour opens up we will be off at the first of the month as we should be.

And while I am at it going through the minutes, I noted the January 28 minutes and the report of the reservations expressed on the There is Still Time leaflet. It is good of course to see despite the reservations expressed that everyone pitched in behind the leaflet. Did you know that Branch 2 got orders for it from Lonsdale CCF, Hillcrest also. We also got an order from the Ocean Falls CCF. I think the comrades are misunderstanding the latter portions of the leaflet when they interpret it to mean "we must get behind Coldwell in his statement...." I read it to say support Argue in the pledge that he made--- in other words support the pledge, see that he honours it. As I read it it says Encourage the CCF MP's to live up to a statement that MJ Coldwell has made. meaning that possibly the MP's won't live up to it, they need your encouragement--your pressure. As for the statements of Coldwell's that we reproduce. It is very clear and I think very good. He said it---I know that he says more and in the process undercuts this--but he said it and it is useful. Do we commit ourselves to supporting anything else that Coldwell says than what we here quote? When Coldwell takes a good stand, makes a good statement, I think that we should not hesitate to identify ourselves with it, that we should use it and when the opportunity arises, use it against him. ~~So that when we use it we are not accused of twisting it and using it to our own advantage~~

I see in the January 21 minutes you discussed the keeping of the headquarters open certain week nights and having us advertise it in the Vanguard. It was tabled until the next meeting but I do not find any further mention of this. If you will tell me what nights you are keeping it open I will ~~again~~ amplify the ad for the next issue.

Lots more I want to write you about but I have had to split this letter another to Angus and several others over this week and I must pick them up. Will try to write again in a couple of days. And I must get a letter off to Reg too

The minutes it seems to me are the best that we have every received. Give us a good picture is their little space I think

Warmest regards

Ross

April 5, 1960

Dear Tom;

(Kerry) (Sur, New York)

Enclosed is a copy of a leaflet for your information. ~~Thaxil~~ It is not yet in public circulation so it is strictly for information. The Stalinists drew it up and appeared with it for circulation to the area council meeting last week end. However after Hugh objected to its circulation without prior agreement with the caucus—seconded by the other DeHavilland delegates and Cliff Pilkey himself—they agreed to hold onto it. As you can see it goes pretty far with their line ~~and the shop issue~~ and evades the labor party issue. I understand from our Oshawa connections that Masey will be in there shortly and they will be setting off their fireworks. If you is unable to send you something for publication you can be sure I will send in something.

But the above is not the reason for this note. I am wondering if you have received a letter from one of the comrades with regards to the possibility of your sending someone up here to speak to our May Day eve banquet on April 30. There is just the possibility that you have not.

If you are able it would be excellent to have one of our Havana tourists come up. And I would imagine it would be best that Farrell take it easy for the campaign that confronts him so that Joe would be the man if he can be spared. And I see that he is saying a few words about Cuba to the Skogland banquet so it may well work out.

Would you give us an immediate reply on this proposition. April 30 is a Saturday night—— if the comrade is in good shape he could arrive in the afternoon and swish off the next morning. We would of course cover costs.

fraternally

Ross

Dear Joe!

81 Queen Street West
Toronto 1, Ontario
April 5, 1960

(Skoglund) (SWP)

To Carl and the assembled celebrants of your birthday,

May your loyalty to socialism be ever and always an inspiration to us all.

May your patience in explaining the Trotskyist message serve as a constant model.

May your confidence in the Socialist Workers Party and its international associates, in the socialist future of mankind, be the common property of us all and in all circumstances.

and may you continue to enjoy good health, sound mind, firm will until the next, the next, and the next birthday

"

with warm greetings from the north
on behalf of the Socialist Educational
League

Ross Dowson

81 Queen Street West
Toronto 1, Ont.
April 15, 1960

Dear Hugh Garner

Find your articles on Spain in the Star Weekly very interesting. So you know Henry Beatty. I met him when he came back from Spain and saw him in uniform as he prepared to go off to Europe and world war II. I had heard that he was killed in Norway but I gather that he is not only alive but that you are in touch with him. If you have his address handy I would be pleased to have it. I am enclosing a pamphlet by Trotsky which you might not be aware of. Of course he thought that Marxism had the answer to the major problems of our times--and in particular to an understanding of developments in Spain. I think that you will find it worthwhile reading.

fraternally

Ross Dawson

81 Queen Street West
Toronto 1, Ont.
April 15, 1960

George Weaver
6904 Johnston Road
R R # 14 North Surrey
B.C.

Dear Comrade Weaver

Comrade Cotton turned over your letter outlining your proposition on your work History for Workers.

Yes, we are interested. We don't have any money at this time but it would seem reasonable to think that we could raise sufficient to get or at least help get things underway. Right now we are in the midst of a financial drive on behalf of our paper Workers Vanguard. At the same time we are raising some funds to publish a small pamphlet on the projected new labor party. However we think that armed with the manuscript or a portion of it there are persons we could approach with a view to getting their help.

Do you have a duplicate copy of the manuscript? Or do you have a precise detailed outline or something of that sort? Of course a copy of the manuscript would be best. I followed your column in the BC CCF News for years and always found it to be of value. I am hoping that you have where possible given it a Canadian slant. I appreciate your comments with regards to your aim---we stand on the same ground. I am enclosing a small pamphlet which our southern co-thinkers have just published which I think you will find interesting.

I suppose you have investigated ~~many~~ methods of reproduction other than letter press. However we can discuss this matter later. Looking forward to hearing from you

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Obit----1

George "Paddy" Stanton dead -April 25, 1960

George Stanton, one of the most colorful figures in Toronto and West Coast labor circles passed away on the job today. His booming voice and class struggle ideas lent color to the Toronto Labor Council for many years where he represented steelworkers locals and the ironworkers, and provided considerable copy for newspaper reporters.

Known as "Paddy" by most acquaintances, he spent almost his entire adult life in the labor and socialist movement. He became an organizer in the Canadian West and the US West at an early age for the pioneer movements of industrial unionism--the Industrial Workers of the World and the One Big Union. A convinced Marxist he very early identified himself with the revolutionary socialist ideas of Leon Trotsky. He was a member of the CCF from 1934 until fighting against its rightward course he was expelled in 1955. In 1956 he ran with ^{mafiarally candidate} Ross Dowson, for Board of Control on the ticket of the Socialist Educational League of which he was chairman at the time of his death. During the war years Stanton was president of the Prince Rupert Labor Council and upon coming to Toronto held many posts including area educational director for the United Steelworkers union. When the Canadian Congress of Labor decided to organize the unemployed in the Toronto area in the winter of 1950 Stanton was appted organizer. The funeral will take place from Bates and Maddocks--124 Avenue Road.

The Star ran an excellent photo of Stanton in a typical pose in Feb 1958

Ross Dowson
Em 6 1454

June 4/60
811 Queen Street West
Toronto

(Houle)
Dear Ruth and Jerry;

Well, I hope that your arrival was under more auspicious circumstances than your departure from Toronto.

I meant to--really and truly--meant to see you off. In fact I have had to drink the micky of Vodka myself--I thought you would have found it useful during the trip. But we got working on the packing of the truck. I had been watching the time but suddenly when I looked up there it was 6:15 and we still about ten minutes away from the station. So I drowned my sorrow with your vodka.

Hope the trip was not too tough on you all. I can imagine that it could be quite a strain. But now you are in BC and the trip itself will fade into the past.

Got a phone call from Pat on Thursday night. We finally got away Tuesday about noon. They seem to be doing well. They had over 40 subs and Pat was complaining that ~~only on~~ that night ~~had~~ ^{been} done ~~well~~ with hot, deep contacts ---after spending two nights there.

The store to which I am chained like a prisoner ~~to hell and damnation~~ is ~~doing~~ doing very well----today--4 o'clock 52.00, yesterday 50.70, the day before 70.40 Wednesday 50.40. A couple of very good fellows in last night--had a two hour discussion and I feel sure that one of them will be down tomorrow for the youth educational. We came across the paper at the Massey Hall meeting on Africa. ~~known to me~~ All the Vancouver books arrived the day after the boys left. Ernie pitched in to help check them off and now I have finally got them on the shelf. Lots more books on literary criticism. Hard to tell what their bookstore was like from this assignment but my impression is that it was not very selective. Cant understand what kind of book service Bill is trying to operate at the house. He sent us two copies to add to the three copies we already have of the Briden book on the IWW--a natural for well-heeled unionists--also some Marx-Engels -Lenin material. Only gave us a third. If that is all they got--this is not enough ~~to~~ mark-up to run a bookstore on. I will be writing him right after this note so you need say nothing. Got a ~~long~~ letter from Bill today telling us that "Ross has made some error, he did not send it (the BC Black book of names and addresses) to me or Charlie or Jerry." Now they do have that book and we need it right away. It was airmailed out to them when Charlie and Jerry took a tour of Vancouver Island last year. Could you find it for us as soon as possible. It is possible that Bill doesn't know about it--he writes about the names we sent to Shelley just a few months ago for renewal work. But Charlie and Jerry had it. He must get it on cards

Lots to write about but I must get several letters away---our books on the doctor business did not arrive although Power Kilde did---and besides I must get to work on the pamphlet--I hope tomorrow--Sunday--will be a clear day.

Warmest regards


June 10, 1960

Minneapolis
Dear Joe (Hamilton)

Should be working on the paper and on the pamphlet that must be off within the next two weeks however I find it difficult if not impossible while in the store. And I really am in the store these days too. Cliff, Alan, Pat and Joe are off in the tour. Got a call from Cliff last night. They were in Niagara Falls. The tour seems to be going along well. On Monday after their being in the field from the previous Wednesday ~~they~~ a bundle of about 100 subs arrived...all Hamilton. ...a goodly proportion renewals. Pat came across a fellow who had been in the LPP up until the 1958 convention where he attempted to raise the matter of the Lenin Testament. He has been subsequently expelled---Alan joined Pat and they had a long talk ending up with his buying several dollars worth of pamphlets. We are building up our support in Hamilton and this along with a couple of other breaks may be what we are looking forward to to build a branch there. The Murdoch leads don't go anywhere---he has played a really opportunist role in the city council and moves too much in a kibbitz pseudo left CCF milieu.

Joe is on the tour---a dedicated comrade but very moody. We were all doubtful as to the advisability of his going on the tour-including himself. But Cliff tells me that they are an excellent team---so they will be off northward towards the West Coast within two weeks. This is cutting us down to the bone here for Joe has been developing. Then too we have sent Jerry and Ruth to Vancouver. They left last Monday. Jerry sent us a note a few days ago. They have a house---have attended a branch meeting and seem pleased with the situation all around. No job but Jerry seems to have much less trouble finding a master than most of us. So you can see things are going to be tight here this summer. But Ah-Ha---we received a note from Glasgow a few days ago---and all that it can mean is Peter Lennex is returning as he said he would when he left. He will no doubt have much more to contribute than before. If I am not mistaken he was organizer for us in Glasgow for a time. And you know Glasgow and our SLL too. Must have been a terrific experience for him. Peter was awfully soft politically but Glasgow and the SLL are terribly hard. Then too things look good for a few recruits. Despite the loss of our leading youth activists it looks like we will be able to carry on with our youth work. John has grabbed hold and Ken is leading a class which last Sunday had twelve here in attendance.

This tour is coming at a good time---even better I would say than the last. Then we had the 20th Congress revelations. In so far as the CP is concerned now we have the differences between China and the SU. Then best of all is the whole question of the labor party. Buck called a meeting a couple of weeks ago which we distributed and several attended. You would think that nothing had happened to their summit policy or that the CPC and CPSU dispute was a figment of imagination. But his failure to give recognition to this important dispute went black what is worthwhile in this party from thinking about it. The labor party is a much more important question---and I would gather from the many examples of concern shown by the right wing---our participation, the whole question of democracy is a living one. Actually interest in the party is not very high. The party is here alright---its birth is a certainty next year.

but the baby is certainly not kicking and squirming--it is very passive. Of course there is no real motion in the class at this time. But the brass had lots of opportunity to give it a vigorous send off--to stir up a bit of a crusading spirit. I was worried for a while about the CCF election in Saskatchewan. You know if they lost on June 8 it would have been a bad set-back for the party. As you will note from the last issue of Vanguard they were pulling away from the medical plan issue. But in the last week of the campaign Douglas made a vote-face. The ultra-reactionary attacks by the medical profession made the plan the big issue and even Douglas could see that it was a natural. They dropped three or four per cent of last years vote--and I gather their vote dropped sharpest in the urban areas. But they got returned. A few days ago they announced that they would field no candidates in the coming Quebec provincial elections.

XXXXXXXXXXXX

You ask when the Militant will be carrying a series on the new party. Well I will try to get under this task just as soon as possible but I am afraid that it will have to be sometime in the fall--which should be good enough to be useful in the election issues of the Militant. I did want to get an article in the the ISR but the dead line was too close.

The proposition of your working on the campus seems to be an excellent one. Had no idea that the Minnesota campus was so large. That one comrade we have to work with is a precious one. You really need to have people in the campus movement. This is the big problem with us here I think. We are working from the outside. I have been telling Joe that the big thing for us is not to worry about playing the field so much as to get hold of some student, educate him and get him into the party. We have one very good fellow who is at present going to University of Toronto Schools. He is very close to us--comes from a sort of petit bourgeois family--his mother does social work among foreign students. But he is a revolutionist by temperament and very intelligent. Unfortunately as soon as he finishes school this week he is off to summer camp (a job). But he will be taking MY Life, Hist of US Treaskyism and Labor Spy Racket. This fall if necessary I will spend some time on him myself to get him into the party. A full-time proposition? This would seem to me to require your going to school, actually becoming a student...taking some course that would not take too much of your time but would completely legitimatize your work on the campus and open all the doors for you. But I suppose after a while these years and their tremendous experiences Ray and Carl know the score. The campus is going to be even more important this coming year here than last. A new breed passivist movement is growing up here in Toronto. Rabbi Fineburg, Lotta Dempsey of the Star, Farley Mowatt, Prof Gauthier and others with a full support of the Star are backing it. They held a big meeting here last week, 2,000 turned up. They had "Cool Baker as main speaker. A considerable number of U of T youth were there. The movement is for unilateral disarmament.

The new headquarters sound terrific. Just coming at a good time--the election year. Good to see that Farrell is getting some good licks in on TV now for it looks like it will be much tougher later. Cuba should keep us before the public eye--and right now Eisenhower's outrageous intervention in Japanese political affairs should help us. Inspiring demonstrations in Japan eh wait. As you probably know we have considerable influence in the student movement. Certainly a big opportunity for us there. No doubt IKE's trip will result in a number of martyrs--but the police will be using their guns this time. But the struggle is rising to a new and higher plane with the participation of the unions.

Yes, Paddy's death was a serious blow to us. A real proletarian militant. His influence was always a good one and he was our best link to the militant traditions of the Canadian working class movement. However Paddy helped to educate us and I think put fairly good foundations under the group for the future. Last night we lost another of the old timers....Bill Green. Did you know him? We first came into contact with him through the paper that we put out in East York CCF.....with our infamous Elm Street cellar print shop. He wrote into Pat to congratulate her for the paper-- He joined the party a couple of years ago but was tied down to his wife who was an invalid and then shortly after her death had a terrible stroke. It was amazing that he even recovered but it was apparent to anyone who ~~xxxxxx~~ had known him that if he were to have another he would not survive it. He was 79--and had been an organizer for the SP of C for many years in his youth. After he got to reading our material every once in a while he would phone me to tell me ~~xxx~~ how much he now understood many things that had perplexed him for years. He particularly enjoyed the ISR. Of course Bill was never ever really in the party but he was one of us.

New what is this about money---this thr ty dollars you sent us. Of course we can use it in fact I spent it as soon as it came. But I do not think that you should send us any more money. In fact I dont know what monetary debts you owe us. It cant be very much. And I think we should call it quits. I know that the SWP can use it and I think you should turn it over there. I see that it was with considerable difficulty that they are approaching their national objective in the latest drive. In some ways we are not badly off financially. What we are short on is cadre material. ~~Max and Sam are~~
~~and Sam are going to be in the next few days~~ Besides Joe if you are going to move in and around the campus crowd you are going to have to dress sharper, appreciate the money and even more the thought but cease and desist.

Glad you liked the Moral Rearmament articles. I enjoyed writing them. Next feature material in the hopper is on the RCMP---which you should also enjoy.

But I must away. And I forget--it is possible that the truck return may be via the States---we would clean it of literature and make contact with SWP branches across the way. Between the four they could give a good talk on the LP development. But say nothing of it yet.

warmest regards

Rosa

July 3, 1960

Dear Ruth and Jerry;

Received your letter for the branch the other day--will be reading it Wednesday.

Enclosed are a couple of items that you will find interesting---Joan's copies of the Militant Index----and an item from Time on Zengakura--the Japanese CP must be in a tight spot--and this will only tighten it. Should have a devastating impact on students who are wavering between us and the CP. Show it to the comrades. Good edit in the latest Militant on the importance of the Japanese struggle for the world revolution. I am wondering if there is much of a Japanese colony in Vancouver now.

Possibly you have read in the press--I would imagine that Canadian Press would pick it up---about Ernie and the Fall-out shelter. At the branch we decided to put a picket on the shelter on July 2 which we did with considerable effect. Prior to the meeting there had been some kibitz about such an incident. Such things have some value--particularly if one senses a shift in popular opinion and there has been a slight shift. However I ridiculed certain light-minded comments--a light-minded approach to it. Of course it is absurd to get caught. I left Wednesday night with the feeling that the whole matter had been dropped and was surprised as anyone to hear of Ernie's arrest late Thursday night. Well, now we will have to make the most of it. The case has been remanded until July 15 or thereabout so that Ernie can get around to see Fineberg and others. Have sent clippings to the branches along with the leaflet the youth put out ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~. A fairly good response to the picket. Contacted Roebuck but all we could get from him was that he would take it up with the Christian pacifist group a week today. Norman Johnson is taking some course in Texas, Prof-Bray has gone somewhere for the summer---as have a lot of the students. So we went ahead anyway. We were able to have about 12 to 13 persons on the line. There are not a great many people at University and College but we got a good response. I am proposing that we get anyone unemployed to take up a couple of our excellent signs, make them into a sandwich board, and stand, moving occasionally there whenever they can ~~stand~~ an hour and hand out our leaflet--and try to sell the odd copy of the Vanguard or the YS. We could defeat the whole purpose of the damn shelter. Besides we would be certain to turn up some contacts. And we have a class going to take them to. The YS class was a phenomenal success. The last one had about 18 to it. We will be starting our Friday night class on Canadian History this coming week.

And here is another clipping that should interest you. looking From here this Collins has some inside dope. Last week the top Hoffa boy in the area called around with a fellow to see Harry. This chap identified himself as a former LPP organizer now working for Teamsters. Knew all about Harry--the CCF expulsions etc. His proposition--that Harry whom they think to be a key man should convince the caucus that he is in to come to some understanding with the Hoffa forces so that together defeat the local Thompson or is it McDougal group?

The tour is in the City here after driving down from Sudbury. I called them back as Pat received his callback at work, then John Darling said that he would like to go on the tour--on top of that when we thought we had the insurance we find that we don't--the company Alan had put in for refused it. Well there is not much possibility of getting someone to take insurance on the road and we cannot go into Alta or BC without insurance. So all in all--to bring Pat back, Pick up John, and get insurance made it worthwhile. We will be leaving this Monday morning--probably just cut Sudbury off to keep our schedule. Too bad but not a tragedy. It will be a good experience for John--who is an intelligent man although somewhat flighty--but after all he is a genuine youth.

Thanks very much for the clippings that you sent in. You know that article by Reg is an absurdity. The deadline was June 13. It was sent in about then--got here somewhat later as Reg had addressed it King St instead of Queen. The article mentions a founding conference on June 8 but nothing on it. The whole editorial line--and I cut this down drastically--was that labor should protest the action of the international--solidarize itself with the ironworkers or such actions as the Ironworkers brass will be utilized as an excuse for the passage of anti-labor laws and an anti-labor drive. You wouldn't know that BC has been the scene of the passage of a whole flock of anti-labor laws--and you wouldn't know that the BC federation according to the June 6 Tribune not to speak of the Paperworkers had already protested and solidarized themselves with the ironworkers. This is certainly safe editorialization--so safe that readers would think we had hardly a clue of what was happening in BC. Your clippings saved the day.

But I must close--Campbell has finished clipping the papers, Cliff has finished waxing the store floor, supper is here and I want this evening to work on the pamphlet.

Good to see that everything from the point of view of housing etc is working out so well. Here everything is so busy after I was thinking that things would be tapering off a bit and pressure would ease. I will be good when fall comes around and we can take things a little easy eh.

warmest regards Ross

important to the State of BC

July 18, 1960

Dear Ruth and Jerry;

Figure that you want this clipping back right away before it gets lost in our files--so am taking advantage of a slight lull to write a few words.

Yes, I think that this setting up of the Human Rights committee is ok. It is a good experience for us and a way to build the Point Grey CCF candidate up. I don't think that there is any principle involved but generally speaking I would favor our working in the trade union movement to make the Vancouver Labor Council Human Rights committee get into operation. My impression is that the Vancouver council of all the councils in Canada probably is most susceptible to our pressure on such matters. We have some very strong delegates to the council and the left generally is with considerable influence. So it seems to me that it is possible to get the council's rights organization moving and besides it is a good experience to show the ranks the bureaucratic character of the leadership as it is revealed to be standing in the way.

There are possibly a few contacts to be made through such activity but I am generally agreed that if it is a matter of choice the Burrard CCF club should come first. ~~Yes~~ we could use a column on this case. The tourists report that several of our readers were asking what had happened to our woman columnist--and I was thinking that shortly I should put on my long blond wig. Haven't heard from Malcolm since I wrote him a letter on the last contributions he sent in and when I proposed that he should borrow Jerry's copy of the Draper book and do a review of it for us with heavy emphasis on the Trotskyism chapter and pertinent Canadian references. Haven't received the Branch one motion of his suspension as West Coast editor yet. Possibly he has got wind of it and is in a bad mood. This is surely a ~~scandal~~ scandal. For Malcolm has done nothing to anything they sent in, either editorially or stylistically. As a matter of fact my letter complained to him that he should invite for instance Gerry over to discuss with him any article that he sends in and work with him on it.

At anyrate nothing has come in from the Coast for this issue although the dead line (yak yak) was just one week ago today. Write the item up if you think that you have a good angle--take your time, and if it doesn't make this issue I will put it into the next issue. I doubt that it is the type of thing that gets dated.

(Cuba P)
Hope you will continue to send me clippings that you think we won't have covered in the Star or Globe and Mail. For instance note that the last Branch 2 minutes refer to some action by the Oilworkers Union at Standard Oil in the Vancouver area, where there have been some extensive layoffs. I would like to have this right away if at all possible.

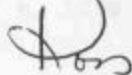
Lots to say but don't have much time right now. The Saturday picket at the fall-out shelter is coming along nicely. Two real youth joined in on the spot last Saturday and a couple of peace congress people who it appears have been working the spot that morning. Hugh is running for

vice-president of his local. Got a call from Vic Hugh the other ~~day~~ ^{day}. He tells me to give Jerry shit. It appears that the few actions Jerry got underway w while there have ~~xxx~~ stirred the fellows up and he has been elected steward if I am not mistaken without so much as campaigning at all. And now the fellows are pushing him to run for a delegate to the international convention. Why dont you drop him a line next chance you have. His address is 35 Coronado Court, Toronto

But I must away. I see you address your letter to Ross and All. I dont think that I will turn it over the the branch . I doubt that it would serve any purpose....for them to know and get involved in the various problems confronting the two branches there. I am assuming that it is really addressed to the PC and of course I will turn it over to the comrades who will be coming to the convention.

The tour is in PA still. Tonight they are holding our very first meeting there. As of a few days ago the secretary of the labor council was still committed to speak on the platform

warmest regards



Rotten weather here. ...hot ...muggy. wish we were in beautiful Vancouver. Did you see the latest issue of Holday so that you could appreciate the area you are now inhabiting.

(Attached to July 18, 1960 letter)

Japan's conservatives were even treated to the spectacle of a falling-out among the Marxists, when Japan's Communist Party denounced the Trotskyite faction of the Zengakuren student federation for provoking the police to "murder" co-ed Michiko Kamba during the assault on the Diet building (in fact Miss Kamba was tampered to death by her own fleeing comrades.) Rousing with outrage, 200 Zengakuren members assaulted the Red's Tokyo headquarters, began a brawl that ended in one Communist in the hospital. Explained Communist Party secretary Kenji Miyamoto later; "The Trotskyite students of Zengakuren are tool of the American state department, which as everyone knows, is financing Zengakuren activities."

Time July 4, 1960

John (Riddell?)
81 Queen West, Toronto
July 31, 1960

Dear Jerry and Ruth;

Dont shoot them yet---not until we see the whites of their eyes. At anyrate we cannot push the old generation over the cliff until we have taken everything that they have to give to the tribe--even though in many ways they are a burden.

I am going to work on the convention documents this week. But I have just been interrupted in this ~~last~~

And here it is Sunday August 6th or so. The band is hammering it out in the hall and the youth comrades are sweating it out over some speeches that they hope to give at Christie pits tonight. Following the 24 hr vigil in front of the shelter that the Combined Committee held without involving us--although we were there as usual Saturday afternoon, they announced ~~that~~ that they would be holding this meeting tonight and anyone could speak.

But to get to the more important matters;

Tommorrow night for sure I will be getting on the documents--it should not be too difficult. I will make them short and clear. I have been thinking over some of the comments you have been making. I see that Ruth still talks about re-groupment. "Referring to the Tate case she writes--"We think it looks as though you were at last in some regroupment work--what with Andrew Brewin, the Peace Council and the students coming around." As if there were some general motion of ~~any~~ some broad tendencies ...as if this was not over long ago. This Socialist Information Cetrer is a hang-over from this regroupment era. I am wondering if it is not continuing on in the old way nonetheless and serving to detract from really getting into the new labor party and really working for our ideas--promoting the Vanguard etc. A comfortable niche. What purpose is the center--its forums serving now? There was a situation there if I remember correctly where we had the same speakers slated for a CCF club where we are influential (Hillcrest) and the forum. As you know this center was set up on a very empirical basis. We had been taking about getting a place where we could meet, keep our files, work out from. At the time that ~~it~~ was set up I recall I expressed some fear that the right wing leadership of the CCF would perhaps move in on us. How do the Stanley Park CCFers see the forum--what is it known as in such circles. How is its existence justified. I should really look up the correspondence to trace its evolution but I do not have the time. At anyrate would you tell me when you have the chance what its present role is and how the Vanguard is handled out there, to what degree there is identification with it and to what degree and how it is used. You mention No 1's opinion or at least Bill's that they do not see its need. What about No 2. You know they submit absolutely nothing to it dealing with the CCF and the new party. You wouldn't know ~~xxx~~ from the pages of the Vanguard that we were a factor at all in the party out there. We weren't able to report on any left currents in the clubs and in the la

last convention there in BC. No reports on club activities speeches of anyone coming out for Cdn withdrawal from NATO, urging a referendum of nuclear arms etc. Of course we have them on Alberta--gleaned from the Commonwealth. We are going to have a report on left currents in Sask again gleaned from the Commonwealth. ~~the xxxxxx~~.

I do not get any feeling that we have a serious orientation of patient work in the forces of the new party-- building the left and ourselves as the most able leftists, around our transitional demands. It seems to me that we have lots of initiative, we get around lots. But I don't hear us advancing our own ideas-- and promoting the Vanguard.

Macphree dropped in here on his way back to Scotland. Didn't have much chance to talk with him as it was just between bus connections. But in one little outburst he talked about your coming around --I don't know the words now, but like a boss, like an official agent from here. I of course soon disabused him of that idea. I told him of course that we considered you both very able and developed comrades--which he immediately conceded but that you represented no one in any kind of official capacity--that you represented yourselves. Another little bit, I hope that you should know Ruth writes in her first letter since the 25th of May she notes "I am disappointed that J&R haven't joined Br # 1 for in the present situation their "between heaven and earth" position I don't think is clearing the air as well as it might. I also think Jerry is much too personal in his reactions and to get right into the Branch life would help rectify this. As it is he seems to feel personally hurt when he is not accepted as a supra-organizer just because he has no local affiliation. But I know he is a loyal young member and very dedicated so this will work itself out--with, I hope, a minimum of wounds." You know they are strong on psychology. But here you are & don't by any means let so much as a hint fall that you have heard this. It would be good to take this into account and try to overcome this totally false impression.

I thought that you were going to each join a different group. What is the reason for the delay or has it been the steady afternoon shift Jerry that cut you off from this. I wonder why Ruth should talk about your both joining number 1. So you Ruth are in one---are you going to join two now Jerry.

What do you think of the blue leaflet You can't Eat Hydrogen Bombs... It seems to me to be very strained. Why don't we have a leaflet that deals directly with the issues confronting those who attend a rally called by the Radiation Hazards Committee, putting forward our views on the fight against war. doing a simple put straightforward job on the pacifist ideas expounded by this group. Isn't this the group that refused to come out against nuclear arms on Canadian soil--- that held a conference in Montreal we reported on in an edit two issues ago. Possibly a club such as Hillcrest could put out a leaflet calling attention to the Alberta and Sask positions, raising the question of the new party, pointing out that the question of peace is a political question etc. ~~There is a gain in the xxxxxx~~. But the Socialist Forum notice is a good one--good as a notice. I favor hitting the crowd myself with some of our ideas--for it is doubtful if many will take advantage of the notice and come to Socialist Forum.

Will have Joan type up an extra copy of the minutes for you. ~~See bottom~~

I am mailing you copies of a couple of our documents on the CCF. I haven't been able to put my hands on the document that we presented to meet the Pabloite version of deep entry--the one most useful to you. Will try to pick turn up a copy for you but possibly Reg has one.

No firm information on the Ceylonese situation. There are no doubt difficulties there. There is the odor of coalition and compromise but the SNP has written them for information and they have not yet replied. Healy urges caution on our part. Suppose you read the squib on Pablo in the Militant.

The rumour is afoot that Pablo and Santen have been picked up by International police for forging money--rumour has it that they started on behalf of the Algerians and took to doing a little on the side. But there is nothing firm here either.

Yes the tour is going very well. John seems to be developing excellently. Wrote us long play by play report of the meeting in Port Arthur...and it was very good too. Joe is worrying about the money it takes to hold the meetings but I have urged them to go ahead and we backed up our words by sending them \$50. Yes, they will be in Regina for the convention alright. They are probably there now as you read this note. The SEL Winnipeg meetings attracted 13 persons and I have not yet heard word of the results of the debate that the CCF youth university group arranged with us.. They would no doubt be pleased to hear from you. Send anything to Alan Harris, General Delivery. I sent a schedule to Ruth and to Bill so you will know where to send it.

Have received two lengthy contributions to the convention discussion from Ken Grieve. They deal primarily with the Rod Young group. ..and our relationship to it. Whitney was always unduly worried about the Young group it seemed to me--I sensed a feeling of incapacity to fight it on our grounds. Branch 2 is not going to like the documents which I really wish we did not have--we don't need them. There are some direct and indirect attacks on no 2. On the whole it is a mixed bag. It would be well if Whitney would discourage Ken however: he is probably encouraging him. We are going to have some trouble getting them out but I guess we will be able to do so. You know we have few typists. Claire is kept busy and is doing an excellent job on the sub stencils. Joan is working quite a bit of overtime and Pat has just changed jobs. Fred is up to his neck with work in the apartments that he superintends. Real working class apartments where we could do some really effective work.. We have been encouraging him to start a new party club.

Lots more to say but I must write a couple of other letters tonight. ~~Some~~ The score is going great guns---averaged \$61 a day last month and it looks like we will do better this month. So we will have things rolling for Alan when he takes over. Bought a mimeograph--Gestemfer--you sent them around--with the profits. But who has time now to use it. Those tourists are a real hole in the branch.

~~XX~~

warmest regards

Ross Dowson

Internals - Question of Cdn TV autonomy & separatism
- Neutralism and Our position
- Marxism and pacifism

Externals - just finish series on Cdn History - a worker's history
- African Rots - heavy on Congo
- GSA series of 2 - 1st What a Qualist Canada will look like

Anchor was in store yesterday - not going to this Convention but to founder of new party - better to be at a christening than a wake said his wife

July 31, 1960

John, Riddell, Gravenhurst

Dear John

The tour has come and gone as far as Gravenhurst is concerned. Shortly after they had left Toronto for the north we had to call them back as Pat was called back on the job. John Darling was unemployed and asked if he could substitute for Pat. The time lost by this maneuver could only be made up by hurrying through the northland to Port Arthur and Fort William. So they have left Ontario south of Cochrane for next year and you there in Gravenhurst. Too bad as I know they would have liked to see you

They are doing very well. I often wonder how Harry Hawes in Kenora distributed the thousand There Is Still Time leaflets we sent him on request last spring. He told the boys that a friend of his has a seaplane and they distributed them blaket method from the air. This is a first for us. Their first public meeting at Port Arthur was in our opinion a success. Some leading unionists said they would speak on the platform but the whispering campaign must have got under way for none of them appeared. Eight persons turned up--there was a big report in the ~~paper~~ local paper---about 8 inches of type. The CCF club there is somewhat demoralized. For as you know Fisher's comments on parliament are not of such a type to inspire a constituency organization to fight--they are not exposures of bourgeois parliamentary democracy--they are just defeatist and can only make an activist CCF type demoralized. The campaigners are now in Winnipeg about ready to step off for Brandon and Regina to get to the latter in time for the national CCF convention. Haven't heard how they made out yet but there are too meetings in Winnipeg--one they are holding under the auspices of the SEL and the other is a forum which the CCF youth have called for them. Looking forward to see how we make out in Regina. The latest issue of the Vanguard as you will see should have some impact on the delegates although I know that they are not a very representative group. The Liberals ~~with~~ have put a fire under the right wing too--with their stand against nuclear armament of Canadian forces. This should make it favorable for the left who are pressing for Canadian withdrawal from NATO.

Do you get the Globe and Mail there? I had a copy of July 28 issue put aside for you but I see someone took it. Did you see the big break we got in the Tate, the Ban the Bomb case? Andy Brewin did a fair job from a straight civil rights, legal point of view and I gather Ernie did well too. It was very good that Gauthier and Prof Dean spoke up. Brewing thinks that we should appeal the case to a higher court---and that is all we need to do so--some lawyers suggestion.

~~There~~ I do not recall his name but there is a UTser that you once brought around who is now working in a lawyers office close by. A tall heavy built chap, black hair brushed black, black rimmed glasses. He was quite interested in the case--went over to hear it at 10 on Wednesday but it never came up until after 12.

The picket got stormed out last Saturday but I put them all to work on our subscriptions files. The picket from where I see it has been highly successful and the best thing that the YSA has done yet. They have been carrying it every Saturday and have turned up some excellent young people. One of them is right here now while I am typing this note. Four or five have joined right onto the line and have now come out two and three times. It looks like this fall the YSA will have some effective working forces in the high schools. Tried to get the "ndicott peace group to collaborate--they have been putting a three to five man picket on on Saturday morning. But the officialdom when contacted dont see much possibility--it appears that they dont have any forces available. ..and are somewhat skittish about a collaboration. Their signs are of the "write Mr Bief character" which of course the YSA are not. A couple of the boys went up in the morning and joined them and in turn a couple of them joined our line. While there the Communist Youth League came out with about 10 to 15. Pat Brain has subsequently had a long talk with their organizer about a joint line. But it appears that this picket was a one time effort--they appear to be unable to muster an effective force on a regular basis such as our picket line

Hope you got the papers that you asked for alright. See you have a contact. Good. Where are we spreading out to---to Hamilton--Ottawa ??? Too bad your new wards are so young. However I would suppose that the councillors get together fairly often so that you can hold forth. Then too as I recall you are well stocked with books.

Did I send you From Here To Eternity? as I see you asked in your very interesting letter. Yes it is a good book. Prewitt, the main character is a real revolutionary type who was never able to develop.

Cuba is still there majestic in the Caribbean. As Phillip Deane comments in our latest issue the state department would like to move in but it is unable due to the solidity of the Cuban people not to speak of the inevitable repercussions throughout Latin America. Sorry we were not able to cover the Congo in the latest Vanguard. But I figured that the Tate case had to be covered this issue or not at all--and of course we have a particular interest in it. Then we just passed the July 26th celebration in Cuba--then there is India etc etc. We will do a real job on Belgium and its role, and the role of the UN in the Congo next issue. The UN would like to make a dirty deal with the Belgians who are prepared to tell the UN to go to hell just as Britain and France did over Suez. Certainly Belgium has forfeited even the rotten treaty rights it rung out of the Congo government but the UN will seek to have them recognized. It is obvious from their stripping of the Congo of all its treasury skilled personnel etc that the Belgians hoped everything but Katanga would go down the drain--lush wealthy Katanga...which they would have to hold onto in the interest of peace sobriety, stability etc.

But I must close--hope you are putting on lots of weight, assimilating some of the material that you took up to study so you will be in top shape for this coming fall.

warmest regards

Ross Dowson

INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

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Balance Sheet of Regroupment-----P. Kent-- 13 ✓
The Anti-War Fight--new opportunities----- P.Kent -- 15 ✓

25 cents

1960-08 Aug

THE LABOR PARTY AND OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

(Published August 1960 in a S.E.L. Internal Bulletin)

by P. Kent

1) We support the new labor party, unconditionally.

We are for the admission into the new party of all unions now outside of the Canadian Labor Congress, including the so-called Communist-led unions.

We are for a federated labor party, for the Socialist Educational League to be recognized as an affiliate of the labor party, with voice, vote, and representation in all bodies of the party; and for the affiliation of any other working class formation that supports the labor party, including the Communist Party, if it chooses to support the party and seek affiliation.

2) But we do not lay down any organizational conditions or terms to our support of the new party. We have no confidence in the present leadership of the new party who as heads of the CCF and the trade union movement have proven on innumerable occasions to be a strata of conservative minded reformist opportunists who can correctly be called the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

We are for a new leadership for the labor party which will differ in all respects from the present leadership in that it will tie itself to the ranks of the party, in that it will be militant, courageous, always seeking to deepen the consciousness of the working class, generalizing their experiences, moulding and shaping their forces for intransigent struggle against capitalism and for working class power. Such leadership can only be forged through persistent struggle, armed with a revolutionary doctrine, counterposing its policies and its leadership in the day to day struggle with the present leadership.

3) The program with which the labor party will be launched is totally inadequate to mobilize the working class in militant anti-capitalist struggle and to in any fundamental way solve the problems confronting the Canadian working class as part of the world working class movement.

It is reformist when the task is revolutionary.

It is passive, primarily electoral, parliamentary, when the struggle of the workers against the capitalist class and capitalist state is a daily struggle which can only lead to the overthrow of that state and the erection of new organs of working class democracy.

We seek to win the workers to the program of the socialist revolution — a system of transitional demands, the essence of which is contained in the fact that ever more openly and decisively they will be directed against the very bases of the bourgeois regime... the task of which lies in systematic mobilization of the masses for the proletarian revolution.

But we do not lay down conditions or terms neither as to regime, nor as to leadership, nor as to program of the new party. We recognize that the new party in its totality is a decisive break on the part of the working class from bourgeois politics on the march to a workers and farmers government.

4) In order to achieve our purposes not only must we urge all workers to join the party, but of course all members of the SEL must become members of the new party. Until the new party is formally launched next year that means to join the CCF constituency clubs and the new party clubs that are being organized. Due to previous action taken against us by those who temporarily lead the new party forces, in some cases it will be difficult if not impossible at this time to establish membership. In the East we have found some loosening up in this respect. However we must find ways and means to establish membership. The unions open up possibilities this way.

5) We reject all concepts such as were promoted by the Pablists when in our ranks, and which within a few years, with the bankruptcy and burial of the CCF, proved completely false. We reject the idea that a profound crisis of capitalism, plus the mass pressures of the workers on existing class formations such as the CCF and now the new party will transform such movements into the type of instrument necessary to carry out the socialist revolution. We reject all ideas of adaptation or conciliation to reformism, or liquidation of the forces of the revolutionary socialists. We are convinced that is necessary to build a vanguard party of the Leninist-Trotskyist type. Our present forces, gathered together with great effort and tested in many experiences, are the cadre for this vanguard. They are the vanguard at this stage of the development of the class struggle in Canada. There are no other forces anywhere on the Canadian political arena that can substitute for the Canadian Trotskyists. The cadre of the vanguard party is intervening in the processes of the developing labor party with the sole purpose of linking itself to the class to test, to further define and to demonstrate in action the correctness

of its program, to persistently add to it's forces and transform them into the mass revolutionary vanguard party which alone can lead the workers in the final showdown with capitalism.

While our forces are small we enter into this struggle with the highest anticipation of achieving our purpose. We have had considerable experience in this type of work, and in some areas, if not politically supported to any marked degree, are accepted in groups that are the nucleus of the new party organizations. We Trotskyists have stored up valuable capital.

While there are scatterings of leftist elements around the CCF there are no leftist currents other than ourselves.

As a reformist tendency (of a unique type it is true) the Stalinists could have great influence in this movement. But through their previous policies that led them to support the Liberal party against the CCF, to their present position of opposition to the new party, and now in BC contesting against it for some 19 seats, they have little or none.

Our movement, on the other hand, through its correct orientation has over the years established itself, despite harassment by the leadership, and yet at the same time because of such harassment, as a tendency in the movement. The CCF leadership in their fight against the left has established Trotskyism as the ideology of its left opposition. The major factor in establishing this has not been the capacity of individual comrades to promote their ideas within the CCF clubs which vary widely across the country so much as it has been due to the impact of our press that has for a period of some 15 years (broken only by 2) consistently supported the CCF and attempted to be the voice of the left.

But the past is no assurance of our hegemony in the future.

6) The Vanguard has been too anonymous. To really establish the Vanguard as the voice of the left to legitimize it, it must become much less an office paper. Where possible, where it would not jeopardize employment, etc., comrades must write for the paper in their own names, and seek to get other leftists to submit material for the paper. The paper so far has been sadly lacking in on-the-spot reports, detailed reports on the opinions and activities of the ranks, particularly of our own comrades on the West Coast where there still is a broad left.

Up until this year's renewal campaign in Vancouver, and a short campaign on the Island the previous year, the establishment of the Vanguard as the voice of the left has by and large fallen

on the shoulders of the comrades in the East. Only when all our forces come to systematically utilize the paper in their political activities, discussing the contents with our contacts, hearing their criticisms, making the paper and its circulation the pivot of all our work, will we have seriously begun to make the Vanguard the voice of the militants, the voice for Socialism in the new party.

7) The failure of the CCF left, the almost complete dissipation of its forces, was in large part due to its inability to present any kind of alternative program on a consistent basis, and an alternative leadership to the right wing. It never had a press except for a period in BC — the anonymous mimeographed sheet — Box 16. And while several attempts were made both in Ontario and BC it never took on any organized form. Hence it could never seriously and systematically discuss and arrive at a common concept and present a program and leadership committed to win the party in contest with the right wing.

(a) Since we have a common evaluation of the situation before us and a common aim, in the next period, without seeking to attach blame, without rancor or recriminations, in the interest of effectively employing our forces we must overcome the division in the Vancouver branch.

(b) The socialist wing in the new party cannot function let alone develop, without a press and an organization. We are in a position to really and firmly establish the Vanguard as the press of the socialists in the labor party. We are also in a position to establish the Socialist Educational League as the left wing, as the socialist caucus in the new labor party whose legality we must assume and when challenged fight to establish.

Should we achieve these aims it would expedite the whole historical process immeasurably. The left wing, to effectively contest the leadership of the masses with the reformist misleaders, must be Trotskyist. Our actions in the immediate period will to a considerable degree determine the pace of this development. They can be instrumental in telescoping the whole process.

The press can neither be the product of nor depend for its circulation and support on anonymous persons. The press is not a substitute for an organization — its purpose is to add human flesh and bone to the program — to build the organization.

In the East we have been implementing our CCF orientation since shortly after the big expulsion with an open organization — with certain comrades to varying degrees publicly identifying themselves with the SEL and with our press and general propaganda, working to the establishment of the SEL as the legitimate organization of the socialist wing.

Without an open organization it is virtually impossible to recruit to our forces outside of our most immediate and personal contact. Without an organization, if only skeletal, it is not possible to effectively utilize our press.

The SEL must now take on a national form. The first step in the realization of this is to provide suitable forces and adequate facilities in Vancouver to constitute the SEL there.

This period, the formative period of the new party, to be sure presents us with new possibilities. It also presents us with new responsibilities.

(end)

THE BALANCE SHEET OF REGROUPMENT

By P. Kent

The strategy of regroupment, formally adopted at the 1958 convention, but which we had been implementing in the East for some time before that, was based on the crisis that shook the Labor Progressive Party (postwar name of the Canadian Stalinist party referred to below as the CP of C – ed.) and periphery following the Khrushchev revelations at the 20th Congress CPSU. At the same time as broad layers of the LPP were doing some serious soul-searching, the CCF hierarchy formally drew the balance sheet of over a decades' undermining of the class character of that movement by dumping the Regina Manifesto and adopting the peaceful co-existence-with-capitalism Winnipeg Declaration. We considered that this termination of the long struggle waged by socialist-minded CCFers would further broaden the basis for the regroupment of the socialist forces in Canada.

We therefore saw regroupment opening up the possibilities for serious discussions by all those who considered themselves to be socialists — with possibly even limited actions on an agreed upon basis. Through discussions and common experiences we were confident that old Stalinist and Coldwell-fostered prejudices against Trotskyism would be largely overcome and the cadre that we had painfully gathered together over the years considerably strengthened in both experience and numbers.

Now, two years later, it is clear that this experience, which proved so fruitful in the US and Britain, has ended in Canada. No doubt the recent controversy between the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) and the CP (Communist Party) of China further shook the Communist Party of Canada, and there will be further crises, but by and large the CP has consolidated its forces. To be sure it is now a skeleton of its former self, but like a skeleton it is hard. While on the West Coast it appears to have retained its hold on important and valuable working class elements, in the rest of the country it has been largely cut down to its language groups which are mainly peripheral in character, aged and with little roots and limited perspective in the Canadian working class movement.

And what has happened to the dissidents with whom we hoped to have a fruitful political experience and out of which we anticipated we would strengthen the forces of the vanguard party?

The Gagnon group, which started off in the spring of 1947 with some 130 of the 200 LPPers in the Quebec area, and with whom we launched the Montreal Socialist Forum, is no longer heard from. The Gagnon group proved unable to assimilate the lessons of the crisis or Stalinism. While it held the view that the Canadian CP is revisionist and class collaborationist, it considered the rest of the world Stalinist movement, including the CPSU to be genuinely Leninist and sought the support of Khrushchev as the Canadian party of Marxism-Leninism. Its 1958 electoral program was petty bourgeois nationalist and in no way different from the LPP's. Following some talk about collaborating in a bourgeois liberal anti-Duplessis formation, it constituted itself as the Socialist Party of Canada; provincial in its outlook, and having no press, we have heard no more from it.

In Toronto, through Northern Ontario and across the prairies, thanks to our national tour, we established contact on a broad scale with LPP dissidents. But here, and in Vancouver where some of our comrades just last year moved out to form the Socialist Information Center to provide a forum for regroupment, we found these forces to be by and large worn out.

While in many individual cases there is a readiness to discuss, we found it seldom got beyond pious expressions for unity of the entire left — little interest was shown in discussing fundamentals. The bulk of these forces proved to be worn out — certainly not interested in starting over again — too strong a nostalgia, as Cannon put it, for the big masses and the big deals, forgetting that the mass movement in the thirties was produced by policies of the class struggle, not adaptation.

The shortcomings and weaknesses of the LPP dissidents, the utter dissipation of the CCF left, our inability to set into play broad actions for regroupment, and any weaknesses on our part that attributed to that, are only a part of the picture. That is the negative side of the balance sheet which might have been better had we for instance entered the arena earlier on the West Coast, had we a better break with personnel in the Montreal area, etc. The essential fact is that these forces had been destroyed by the years of unprincipled schooling they had received in the CP and the CCF. This product of the radical wave of the thirties proved to have completely spent itself out.

The positive side of the balance sheet must also be given. On the West Coast we made, and for the first time in some years, some modest gains in the process of our moving out from the restrictive confines of the CCF constituency clubs. In the East we gained some valuable political experience. In general, solid work was done in overcoming the longstanding prejudices that Stalinism and CUF reformism have built up against us. The conditions have been considerably improved for us to move out the next opportunity that presents itself.

Last, but not least, the relationship of forces has considerably improved towards our favor. The crisis undergone by Stalinism and Social Democracy has shaken loose many of its forces. Ours have matured in this regroupment experience and are in a much more favorable position to intervene, give leadership, direction, and grow, in the next upsurge.

(end)

NEW OPPORTUNITIES & NEW TASKS IN THE ANTI WAR FIGHT

by P. Kent.

The past year has witnessed ever-widening expressions of concern amongst broad layers of the population over Canadian capitalism's commitment to Wall Street's war drive. So far it has largely been expressed in fear of the pollution of Canada's and the world's atmosphere by radioactive fall-out through US nuclear explosions; doubts as to the value of certain military equipment, said to be necessary for Canadian defence, leading to the questioning of the entire so-called defence expenditures which are being increasingly recognized as a primary source of inflation and increased taxation: concern about the abject subservience of Canadian foreign policy to the US practitioners of brinkmanship; fear of the preparations to nuclear arm Canadian forces on this continent and in Europe.

At this stage the concrete expression of these anti-war sentiments is seen in the growth of the National Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards which recently held a meeting in Vancouver of 2500, surpassing everyone's expectations; the formation of the University of Toronto Committee on Nuclear Disarmament and the support that it has received from other faculties, the student Combined Universities Committee for Nuclear Disarmament at Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa university campuses, the Toronto Committee for Disarmament in the fact that the neutralist book *Peacemaker or Powder Monkey* by Minnifie which has become a best seller, and the student and the cross-country controversy that has developed over the government's model fall-out shelters, sparked in the Toronto area by the combined Socialist Educational League and Young Socialist Alliance protest picket line.

Even the CCF brass which some 11 years ago having smashed the opposition in the party cemented itself to the bipartisan foreign policy of support of the NATO military alliance, has reacted to these developments. In the last session the parliamentary caucus made the record by voting against the military appropriations for the Bomarc (U.S. nuclear warhead missiles for Canada – ed.) Now the CCF national convention has come out for Canadian withdrawal from both the NATO and NORAD military pacts.

While composed of many diverse elements, this movement that is developing across the country can generally be designated as pacifist. The leaders of the movement at this stage are petty bourgeois intellectuals, scientists, professors, religious personalities. Its chief spokesmen move only with the greatest hesitation off the plane of exposing the dangers of further tests or revealing the horror that would come with an H-bomb war. The general line is that war now – an H-Bomb war — can no longer be a method of settling differences. What these differences are, the causes of the Third World war are studiously evaded, but the inference is that weapons themselves lead to war.

There is a very conscious striving on the part of all the spokesmen for these movements to be strictly non-political – in fact there is a conscious hostility to so much as a suggestion that the question of war or peace might be a political question. The obvious fact that opposition to the spread of nuclear arms requires opposition to the Diefenbaker government and commitment to unilateral disarmament threw the first convention of the National Committee for the Control of

Radiation Hazards into a turmoil and it failed to take a stand. One of the main opponents to such a policy was a CCF national leader, Frank Scott.

The Stalinist peace groups, cut to ribbons by the crisis in the CP, have apparently dissolved themselves into the new movements. Not only do they vigorously support the anti-politicals there, but they function as finger men and hatchet men against the revolutionary socialists who, finding a sympathy for their ideas, are attempting to draw some of the basic elementary political lessons of the struggle in the direction of demonstrating its political and class character.

War is an integral part of the capitalist system. Every working class action, every strike, every victory at the polls for independent labor political action — every blow against capitalism — is a blow against war. The only way to fight against war is to fight against capitalism.

This being so, a broad pacifist movement which, for whatever else it might say, implicitly preaches that the question of peace is not a political question and is above classes would, on first examination, appear to be completely reactionary and would require that we hit up against it head on.

The massive pre-World War II pacifist movements actually placed the masses, bound hand and foot, into the hands of the imperialists. In Canada — the CCF — when the showdown came, threw overboard its whole previous pacifist opposition to war. Having won the good opinion of the masses because of its previous anti-war positions it proved all the more valuable an ally to the imperialist and treacherous enemy of the anti-war fighters when the showdown came.

But this movement now sweeping across Canada which we have characterized, and correctly so, as pacifist is in reality an elementary expression of the anti-war sentiments of broad layers of the Canadian people developing in its first stages.

Unlike the post World War II Stalinist peace bodies, which in this country mobilized little more than the broadest CP periphery, this movement reflects the developing anti-war sentiments of the Canadian people. While it is as yet generally non-working class in character, and its public spokesmen are petty bourgeois, it already contains a wide layer of campus youth. These youth are earnestly searching their way to block the war drive.

If this movement fails to draw the political lessons of the anti-war fight and does not link up with the forces of organized labor it must inevitably defeat, frustrate and misdirect the antiwar sentiments of the Canadian people into a blind alley. But the circumstances under which it is now developing are such as to favor it being shaped into an extremely favourable milieu for the socialist anti-war program.

The crisis confronting the US imperialists on the international arena is compelling them and such satellites as the Canadian bourgeoisie, to identify themselves with most obviously corrupt, reactionary oppressive forces everywhere. The colonial revolution continues to sweep forward, sapping the strength of imperialism.

Attempts to characterize the victorious anti-imperialist states as Kremlin outposts appear increasingly ridiculous in the eyes of widening layers of the population and impel them in the direction of opposition to the policies of the Canadian government. The achievements of the Soviet economy, both in the realm of weapons and the production of goods, along with such actions of the bureaucracy as its challenge for the cessation of nuclear tests are undermining the anti-Soviet drive so essential for the launching of the war.

The overcapitalization of the economy, the contraction of the world market and the threatening entry of the Soviet Union into the international market place are driving Canadian capitalism to introduce automation with its resultant layoffs, increase production through speed-up and prepare the housebreaking of the trade union movement. At the same time arms expenditures continue to rise with their resultant inflationary wage cuts and higher taxation. All this tends to force the movement to the left, into a political, into a class struggle and socialist direction.

At the same time as we make every effort to raise the question of war and peace in the trade unions it is necessary that our movement fully participate in these developments to influence whatever forces it can with its revolutionary socialist ideas.

This movement has not taken on the form of a united front, organized around some commonly agreed upon anti-war demands, and within which each tendency is free to amplify how it sees the struggle as a whole. Its present, informal, big name, clique character, makes it easier for the present sponsors to impose their extremely limited and narrow aims on it. At the same time it tends to restrict the socialist participants and to impose upon them a pacifist aura.

While it is permissible to make certain organizational concessions in order to work in this milieu, socialists have the responsibility to find ways and means to advance their socialist view — otherwise they will be guilty of the crimes of the pacifist misleaders of the working class.

We Trotskyists, seeking to practice revolutionary politics, link ourselves up with this movement confident of the correctness of our views and our capacity to work with them in a dynamic way. We seek to go through the experiences of the masses with the masses only so that at every possible occasion we can test and advance our ideas, popularizing our slogans, raising the class question, pointing to the socialist solution.

We come to this developing ferment armed with a program that has been constructed on the basis of our Marxist theory and tested in decades of struggle for this transitional period — the period the severest crisis of capitalism, represented by the threat of thermonuclear destruction, and a profound lagging but developing of consciousness of the workers — the period between the transition from capitalism to the seizure of power by the workers and the development of a socialist world order.

That is what Trotsky called our program — a transitional program — stemming from the present level of consciousness of the Canadian workers and leading them in the direction of struggle with capitalism.

When fall-out shelters are criticized as an inadequate defence against an H Bomb and fallout, we must show the purpose of this shelter, how it is an essential part of the Canadian government's war drive designed to suggest that some can survive and so it is practical to have a war. Its a psychological part of the war preparations. Yes, we are against nuclear armament, but first the responsibility of Canadians is to see that those who rule this country cease their nuclear armament of Canadian forces. The enemy is not deGaulle (Khrushchev? —ed.) but in our own country. Yes, we are in favour of withdrawal from the NORAD and NATO military alliances — but we are not neutralists. We are partisans of the world-wide anti-war struggle. We support the anti-imperialist struggle of the colonial peoples which has been the biggest single factor in setting back the US State Department's time schedule. For solidarity with the Japanese student struggle against the Eisenhower visit and the Kishi government and its linking up of its struggle with the organized labor movement of Japan. For the defence of the USSR.

But to intelligently converse with the masses and to overcome the restrictions such a movement imposes on us, we must devise a series of slogans around which the best elements can rally and for the adoption of which they can struggle. Having top priority at this time is our demand that the Canadian people should vote on the question of nuclear armament of Canadian forces.

Which demand we present at which time is determined by the concrete situation that we find ourselves in. The essence of the matter is that we seek support from anti-war militants with demands that reach down to their present level of understanding and consciousness and pull them forward in a revolutionary direction. That direction is to the realization that only socialist revolution can prevent the Third World War.

With the experience of the national referendum on conscription by means of which (Prime Minister Mackenzie) King divested himself of his pro-war pledge never to conscript manpower, doubts have been expressed about this slogan. At the time of the referendum King had had four or more years of war to hammer down the opposition. Besides he had the tacit support of the CCF and trade union brass and the hysterical super-patriotic support of the Communist Party. Today the demand for a referendum on nuclear arms for Canada is a vote of non-confidence in a government which, behind the backs of the people is preparing to nuclear arm. We are confident that the government does not want such a vote in the knowledge that the vote would be a thunderous no. But let us suppose that contrary to our evaluation of the situation the government was to take up this question to the electorate, this would open up nation-wide debate. Such a debate would give us an opportunity to present our full socialist analysis of the situation and the tasks before the workers. We would urge a no vote. If our estimation of the situation should prove wrong would anything have changed to our disadvantage? Canada would be nuclear armed as it is going to be anyway — and in the conflict at ideas we would have immeasurably strengthened our position.

(ends)

✓
Toronto 1, Ont.
August 6, 1960

Dear comrade Rita; (SWP)

One of our comrades is leaving today for his vacation in Minneapolis. While there he will be addressing the SWP branch on Canada's New Labor Party. He tells me to inform you that he would be pleased to speak at your forum on this topic on Friday August 19th. He will be in Minneapolis by Monday August 8th. You could contact him there and tell him how things stand on this proposition.

On August 4 I wrote your national office asking them if they would be interested in arranging a series of meetings on this topic with branches across the Northern part of the States. Sometime after September 25 our Vanguard campaigners will be returning from the West Coast to Toronto and we have suggested that they would be prepared if it was not considered to be cutting into other projects to speak to branches on this topic. So far they have held meetings in two major Canadian centers on the new party and by the time they start back they will have held three or four more -- so they should be good at it.

No doubt you will hear further about this latter proposition.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

81 Queen St West
Toronto
August 7, 1960

Dear Ruth and Reg;

Good to get your note of August 1st. Taking time out today, Sunday, to try to answer a few of the most pressing letters that have been piling up on me.

Yes, yes, I know about the pamphlet, the documents and many many other matters of importance. But contrary to our expectations instead of things easing off here as we had planned and hoped for the ~~next~~ last month and the next too, they have been moving forward and sweeping us along. We thought that we would hold a modest series of Friday night classes ~~and then~~ for a period and then let them peter out. But they have been a huge success getting as many as 22 persons at them, many new persons and what can we do. So I get involved in the various comrades' preparations and last Friday having to give one myself. Then comes along the bomb shelter the arrest, and now the combined committee 24 hour vigil ending yesterday and a public meeting at Christie Pits tonight where our comrades hope to speak. Oh yes I am not immediately directly involved. But I have a few words with Pat, he works on his speech and then talks to me and I find that his approach is terribly sectarian...and so I have to help him. The store is now going great guns--which of course is as we want it but it is taking up a fantastic amount of my time. Everyone is working right now. We have a sub rally Monday--a branch meeting Wednesday, a class Friday and a picket Saturday. By the time the comrades fulfil their obligations in these directions it is very difficult to expect them to pitch in and spell me out in the store---so

I am afraid that it is impossible for us to get the pamphlet out. It is well on the way to being written but if I work on this ~~xxx~~ I am just not going to be able to do anything for the convention. Well we will have it this winter--when the discussion on the party is at its height and for the all- Ontario tour. And if unemployment out there is as bad as Macphese who stopped in on us between buses says it is ~~xxxx~~ why we should be able to hold a BC tour next spring and summer.

Thanks very much for the \$20. Our lawyer tells us that our application for the new set up has been turned down--no reasons given and he is applying again. But I guess I had better not stall any more--get a receipt book and set up a temporary account so I can recognize receipt of these contributions coming from your way. I am also packing off a receipt for George's recent contribution to the financial drive. Did he say anything about the little discussion I had with him on Dobb's statement appearing in the Militant that we would be prepared to give compensation to owners of nationalized industries. George mistakenly thought this was a grave error of a serious political character. ..that it was a principal with us in America that there would be no compensation.

What is this about regroupment Ruth--with regards to developments around the Tate case. Ernie is in the CCF and the SEL is being treated as an opponent organization by the brass. Was it a couple of issues ago of the Vanguard that we reported a bit of a campaign that the brass have been whipping up in the past while about keeping the Trotskyists out of the

new party. What support we have got from the Peace Congress has been despite the official leadership. When we contacted Mrs Sanderson she expressed pleasure but also told us that their executive were all out of town, it would be difficult to call them together and in fact they were not really able to do anything serious along the line of common action. So the next Saturday a few of us went up and joined their line--- it really hurt to get behind their pitiful appeals to your MP, all pacifist signs, but we talked a couple of them into coming back in the afternoon to join with us which they did. A sort of united front from below. While our YSA is represented on the combined committee for nuclear disarmament we were not at all notified that they were going to carry a 24hour vigil. We went up on Saturday with our signs--left the YSA sign here--but there was a great deal of opposition to our signs---for a referendum--support the labor party--take the profit out of the arms industry. The pacifists objected and the Stalinists who fastened onto them were much more strenuous in opposition. We of course told them that since there was no organized conference to discuss common action and make agreements on signs that we were under no obligation to adjust to their wishes--at anyrate we felt that it was necessary to raise these matters but would of course be prepared to discuss them under proper circumstances. A chap who is quite friendly to us but moves among some of these pacifists phoned in tonight all indignations. It seems that while they announced that tonight's meeting in the park was going to be open to all speakers they have drawn up a list and a group of them have decided that no YSAer is going to get on the platform. I guess there is little regroupment here. In fact hasn't this process pretty well ended now for sometime. Is there really any regroupment taking place in BC these days? Our impressions is that for sometime now the CP has been consolidating and hardening its forces and that there are no dissident tendencies around it. It seems to me that regroupment is no longer the issue but rather that the new labor party is.

Looking back in your letter I note a comment on Reg's document on unemployment. Yes, we managed to get eight sets typed up a couple of months ago shortly after it came in and we mailed them to the key members at large. We will be putting it on stencil along with some material that has come in from Ken Grieve. Ken has sent in two fairly lengthy items on the Young group. I don't quite understand why we should devote so much attention to this sect however. The document is critical of the orientation of the Socialist Forum. But I guess you can wait until you get the full thing in your hands.

Suprised to read that Jerry and Ruth are still "between heaven and earth." I had the distinct impression that Ruth had joined Branch number one, and that Jerry was in number two. I think that they wrote me to that effect. I never said anything about such an arrangement as I thought that it had some merit. Since one would have to baby-sit, if they were in the same branch, one would have to miss the meeting. Then I would guess that there is some merit in uniting in some way, if only in one household, our two branches there. Possibly Jerry's being on afternoon shift has prevented him from activating himself on a proper basis in branch two.

I hope that they are fitting in well as they are both very able comrades and with a great deal of energy and desire to built the movement. Yes Jerry is sometimes a little rigid but he always bounces back...a very honest comrade--without vanity

I see the branch endorsed the action of the organizer in not agreeing to send down election workers. There has been some talk around here that we may well be asked to give a hand in the state of New York, that our aid may be much needed. I myself don't see why we shouldn't if it proves necessary. The last couple of times I went over I was not even asked for my name

Next time you have an opportunity could you tell me the nature of the charge that has been laid against Winnie. Glad to see that we didn't get in the somewhat ludicrous position of having two Trotskyists contesting the nomination for the same seat. Did Harold enter the contest after Fred had already done so-- and did # 1 know about Fred 's seeking it. I gather that Branch 2 members at the nomination all voted for Harold

See you are on the beam with the meeting on the bomb shelter Hoax and Hiroshima. Hope Ruth did as well as she has done down here.

But I must away.

warmest regards


 Ross

September 3, 1960

Socialist Workers Party
302 South Canal Toronto
Chicago 6, Ill
U.S.A.

Howard Mayhew

Dear Comrade Howard;

This note is in reply to the enquiries you make on behalf of Jack Spiegel of the American Forum.

"While the top echelon and the secondary leadership of the Canadian trade union movement are all out for a Canadian labor party when it comes to the States they are not at all necessarily for an American Labor Party. ~~xx~~ They either subscribe to the idea of American exceptionalism or out of courtesy to their American counterparts back away.

However here are a few names who could be approached and who would probably take a good line.

Max Federman--head of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, excellent speaker, militant background having been a leader in the Left Poale Zion, on the clear straightforward class issue is really excellent but tends to be a Stalinophobe. I think he would do a good job on the need for an American labor party. Can be contacted at 346 Spadina Ave, Toronto

Victor White--for some years president of the big Ford local UAW in Windsor, supports the new left caucus. Could be contacted through Local 200 Windsor, Ontario

William Sefton--key man in the new party work in the Toronto area, Steel staff member. within the framework of the differences that are developing around the building of the new party takes a good verbal position. Could be contacted at 33 Cecil St Toronto

Hope this information meets your needs

fraternally

Ross Dowson

September 8, 1960

Dear Ruth and Jerry

Meant to take up your interesting mail long ago. But here it is Friday night the class is underway, the store open but few in it. The papers is almost all set but we were unable to get it out. You know Thursday Friday and Saturday ties us up tight.

Yes. Ellaline wrote us a couple of days ago to the effect that V Bill said he had received no copies other than his own of the bulletin. I immediately mailed first class five copies and suggested that she not wait until the next meeting to hand them out but distribute them at once via the mail. We mailed the bundle to Branch one at the same times as branch two and of course on the same day as the separate copies only second class mail instead of first. I understand that Bill has moved to New Westminster--I am not sure but I think he let us know casually --when he finally got around to telling us that Harold would not be in Calgary when the tour got there. It is possible that the bundle is sitting down at Quebec Street. I hope so as I have suggested to Ellaline that Quebec Street should be contacted as we don't want to lose these copies. In fact I only ran off about twenty extra so we actually need them.

Yes I think that it is a very good idea that we hold an NC meeting before the convention. ..and with Dick in attendance. Dick knows the situation out there perhaps better than any of us--after all he has lived with its troubles for several years. Clara too of course--a very able comrade. I will be arriving Friday morning September 23rd on the Trans-Canada jet. It comes in I think about 10:30. As things now stand Ernie will be coming out with me. If possible we could hold an NC meeting almost immediately--or in the evening if Dick cannot get up there in the morning. I have written the branches and suggested that each strike off one person to make the arrangements for the convention. Would you as NC member make arrangements for the NC meeting. I have booked passage for the Sept 23 plane and am prepared to stay longer than the convention if thought advisable. Some class--coming in by the jet--but actually we will save considerable money--Ken will look after the store on Friday--has day off--Pat--on Saturday and I will be back on Monday--- to open it by noon if it is thought ok to leave by Monday.

We are all very anxious to know that the various comrades make of the documents. Are we going to have any amendments, our counter documents? I would like to be as prepared as I can when arriving. I hope you will be able to send me word on this up until the last moment. How has the discussion gone so far in Branch No 1 which has had the documents for some weeks now.

The discussion has come along fine here. We haven't voted on only one--the labor party document----everyone agreed. I think that the discussion was a good one. A little different with the anti-war documents. Hugh disagrees with it. His argument is difficult to grasp. I would say that he feels that it weakens our concentration of effort on the labor party--he doesn't see it as in anyway being related to work in the party. He seems to fear that comrades will get lost in the pacifist milieu. This all came up just as we were about to vote on the

understand

so we postponed the vote. Dalton doesn't the question of regroupment he had only just picked up the bulletin--as opposed the idea that it was ended at this stage. However we will be able to straighten this out shortly.

The tour has sent us a long letter on the documents. Joe thinks that there must be a youth document and has roughed something out which is a sort of report. This has caused John and Ernie to get together and this week-end there will be a youth document circulated I hope. Alan's comments are interesting but there are all in general agreement with the line of the documents.

But here it is Tuesday--received your letter this morning ~~xxxx~~

The paper has gone out to you --a few copies airmail. A good question --what has happened to the paper. I thought we would have had it out Friday but the spare man they called in to do line work turned out to be an alcoholic and ~~xxxx~~ the job he did was so bad that what would normally have been a push job became impossible. Yes as we dawdled along it became apparent to me that we would not be getting into BC with your article before the election itself--or if we did only a matter of a day or so. Soooooo I pulled it out. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ There was no use in even trying to tack on late material. Sorry that we were not able to use it. But we have lots of good stuff on the CCF---two I think very good items on the convention which I wrote up from Alan's letter and all the piles of clippings he sent in. And with the tour report and the report on the panel they had with the Winnipeg CCF I felt we would be going overboard if we carried anything on the Stanley Park discussion and Tom and Harold's contribution. The tour report is very good and it is not often that the SEL appears under its own banner in a panel with CCFers.

Have good heart however--there is one thing that you sent in that we will be surely using--that very nice pile of names and addresses--the subs.

Will pick this letter up tomorrow

warmest regards

Ross

You should see the swell picture that the Calgary press carried of our tourists at their Edmonton meeting.....looks like an executive board of some dynamic US industry...will send it out when everyone has seen it---will try to get the matrix for the next issue of the paper.



Sea Cadets Parade

The Royal Canadian Sea Cadets will resume their weekly parades today at 7 p.m. at HMCS Tecumseh.

Any new recruits, aged 14-18 will also be taken.

Membership in the corps is now 165.

CALLOUSES

To relieve painful callouses, burning or tenderness on bottom of feet and remove callouses—get these thin, soothing, cushioning pads.



Dr. Scholl's Zino-pads

EXECUTIVE CHEF

Required for new large Motor Hotel in Calgary on or about November 1st. Applicant must have complete knowledge of food control, supervision of kitchen personnel, and catering service. Please forward qualifications, references, and salary expected to

Box 1050 Calgary Herald

NEW LABOR MOVEMENT. A meeting to enlist support for a new labor party was held Tuesday night at the Ukrainian hall. Allan Harris, of Toronto, the main speaker, is a member of the Socialist Educational League, the group sponsoring the meeting. Shown are 9 of the 16 people who attended the meeting. All but three refused to disclose their names. Seated left to right are Cliff Cotton, Mr. Harris and Joseph Rosenblatt.

Calgary Herald Sept 7/60 New Party Proponents Denounce Capitalism

The Conservative, Liberal and Social Credit parties in Canada are the parties of capitalists, Allan Harris, of Toronto, told a meeting at the Ukrainian Hall Tuesday night.

Mr. Harris along with three companions, is touring Canada to gain support for a new labor party in Canada.

Mr. Harris and his companions—Cliff Cotton, Joe Rosenblatt and John Darling—are members of the Socialist Educational League, a group following Marxist-Trotsky theories.

Mr. Harris' talk was entitled: "The Coming Labor Party."

The meeting was attended by 16 people, including the speaker and his companion.

The ruling class, Mr. Harris said, is highly organized, and the

Conservative, Liberal and Social Credit parties are the ruling classes' parties.

Most of the members of parliament, he said, are lawyers making laws which are to the advantage of big business.

"They (the ruling capitalist class), extremely wealthy and well organized," he said.

The Second World War, he said, was a war for the ruling class—for their benefit.

The new party, he said, should fight in the interest of the workers and the farmers and also for the small business man and for the intellectual—"for they are also exploited."

The working class should be organized as well as the ruling class, he said.

4-Lane Highway Over Dam Studied

Feasibility of constructing a four-lane highway over the Glenmore Dam is being studied by the city, Mayor Harry Hays said Tuesday.

If the project proves practical, it would eliminate the need for constructing a \$1,000,000 causeway through Glenmore Lake south of the dam and just north of 66th Ave.

The causeway was proposed as a connector in a new freeway system for South Calgary.

Mayor Hays said there is no reason why the present dam route couldn't be used if steel arms can be installed across the dam to support a four-lane highway.

Small 2 Storey Servel AIR CONDITIONED OFFICE BUILDING

- Private Off-Street Parking Lot

GEM Developments Ltd.
AMherst 3-0781

September 18, 1960
81 Queen St West
Toronto 1, Ont.

W
Tim Schlforth

(YS-SWP-New York)

Dear Tim:

Your proposal should have come up at the last youth meeting here. I brought the matter to Ernie Tate's attention. He was going to raise it but unfortunately worked nights that week and neglected to do anything about it. While the group has been quite active over the summer has been growing and shows even greater promise it is not very well organized--our key comrades are still out on tour. They will be back here within the month. But rather than delay things any longer here are a few words.

I think that the proposition is an excellent one. And I am sure that all the youth comrades here would get solidly behind it. The only problem we will have here is making contributions to it--helping round it out with material from Canada. However it is good to be presented with that problem so that we can attempt to solve it.

I am sure that the youth group here will want to be listed as one of the sponsors. They are already talking about the ~~inadequate~~ need to publish something of their own--of putting out material which they need but which the Young Socialist could certainly not be expected to carry---Canadian material. And I see from a letter that I was helping one of them with that they are suggesting that their dues contribution to the YSA be somewhat less so that they would have the funds for such a project. So you see they are tending to move away from their ~~vide facto~~ YSA local status. I think it would be best that they keep the YSA name, stressing their association with the paper and with the varied activities of the American group. But it would only be correct that they be listed as independent sponsors besides being most useful politically.

I will take this matter up with them at first opportunity. But in the meantime I am sure you can go ahead in whatever way is necessary at this time confident that they will put a good effort behind the project. I am sure that they will agree with the editorial statement. I would imagine that you will want a contribution from the Canadian comrades for the first issue. Could you send them fairly specific ideas on how you think they should present their contribution and we will get things underway here.

fraternally

(R.D.)

September 16, 1960

Gerry McKinney
Brandon

Dear Gerry;

It was good to receive your note the other week. The boys reported that they were at the appointed place at the appointed time in Regina but they never met you. And since they said nothing else in the process of giving us a copious report on the CCF National convention I gather that you never made it. Winnie was there. But I think that I will let the latest issue of the Vanguard speak on the CCF convention--very good and informed articles in my opinion.

The tour has been a great success--best yet. These younger comrades of ours pushed in everywhere. They held six public meetings all in all under SEL auspices. These are the first public meetings the Trotskyists have held in the West--aside from a fiasco that Paddy, Allan and I ~~xxxxxxxhad~~ suffered in Edmonton several years back and one that Alan, Paddy and Jim held in Regina. The Edmonton meeting this tour attracted 32 people. Had a big impression on CCFers there--apparently it was bigger than they can hold. The Calgary meeting was very good too although up until about 8:30; 15 there was no audience. This led to two conflicting reports---one that no one turned up--that papers reporter had left at 8:30 and the other that 16 turned up. They made good connections with the CCF youth from Winnipeg on out. Subs of course have been pouring in---haven't had a chance to take the tally.

Hope you have received the bulletin that I forwarded to you. The convention will be discussing in detail three of the documents in the bulletin--labor party, regroupment balance sheet and anti-war struggle. Since that bulletin came out there are two contributions on the youth question. We will have them out by Monday I hope. Not much time but they came in late--and at anyrate they are not for adoption but information and discussion.

Toronto has adopted all three--there was a minor ammendment offered on the anti-war document but it was defeated. Haven't heard much on the progress of the discussion in Vancouver but it is underway. I am anticipating that this will be our best convention yet. Inwill be leaving by air Friday morning. A hell of an expense but it means that we will actually save money. Everyone is working down here and if I went by train or bus we would have to close up the store for more than a week. The store is now at last doing fairly well and we would lose money on the deal so here I will be flying out jet with the executives--be there in 4 hours air time--clock time two hours. We will have 5 and possibly more delegates.

By now you will have received the September issue. Was just going to press when I received your letter with your opinion on the strike

NC MEETING MINUTES

Sept. 25th 1960

Present: Briar, Lloyd, Douglas, Kent, Strong, Cotton, Adair, Douglas, Riley and Macpherson.

Motion-that the new city executive consist of 4 from branch 2 and 1 from branch 1-passed

Motion-that Macpherson act as convener of the first meeting of the executive -passed

Motion-that the national secretary be Kent-passed

Motion-that the question of a youth member full time in the Van. area be referred to the PC-passed

Motion-that NC members resident in the center constitute the PC-passed

Motion-that Kent be the editor of the paper-passed

Discussion of Trotsky school nominations. Names of Lloyd and Cotton put forward.

Motion-that PC give Van. nominee to school preference-passed

Motion-that Van. NC meet on a regular basis and receive SWP NC minutes-passed

Motion-that Van. NC strike off a convener and that SWP NC minutes and other correspondence go to the convener-passed

Motion-that Douglas be convener and Secretary of the NC-passed

Discussion of name for national movement. Some suggestions put forward

- Socialist Labor League
- League for Socialist Action
- Socialist Action League
- Socialist Educational League
- Socialist Workers Alliance (League)
- League for Socialist Policy (Action)
- Socialist Unity League
- Workers Socialist League

Motion-that our national organization issue a statement of purpose along with an announcement of its Van. and Toronto leaders-passed

Motion-that ~~Kent~~ Kent write a draft for the program of the new organization -passed

Minneapolis

81 Queen St. West
Toronto 1, Ont.
September 28, 1960

Dear Joe; (Johnson)

Received your letter today to jolt me into answering you right away. Dont blame Ken--he certainly did hand me your letter immediately he returned. Its all my fault--and the times we live in. You know that poem by Brecht that Warde quoted at the end of an article in the ISR on humanism + think it was. ..appealing to history to judge us not too harshly ~~but~~ we are products of our times.

24 hours ago I was just stepping down from a TCA jetliner coming in from Vancouver. ~~xxxxxx~~ + just came in from our national convention. Would have liked to stay longer but + had to come back to work the store. We are really in business now ~~xxx~~. All the comrades are working and four of our best activists are on our national tour still --and of course you know that Ruth and Jerry went to Vancouver to stay. Some class--going by jet liner. According to schedules I was to leave Friday morning at 8:30 from Malton and arrive in Vancouver by 10-30. Strange as it seems we saved money by my going this way. It only costs about 60 bucks more than train and as you can see it saves days of travel which our being in business would cost us considerable. So we went the cheapest way--jet liner--with filet mignon lunches and hosts of smiling hostesses.

The convention was a great success. I approached the site of the convention with grave forebodings. Our Seattle comrade who was to be SWP fraternal delegate wrote me that he would feel much better that we could cope with the situation if we had JPC along with us..but it could not have turned out better. And it wasn't the clarity of my document that did it. We have had clear and precise documents before that correctly outlined the tasks. But after it was all over we usually found that there were always a thousand reasons why the document was inapplicable etc etc. But ha ha--this time comrades Whitney and "illian did us the favor of submitting another document which I challenged as a counter document and which they wonder of wonders did not force me to rely on interpretation but readily admitted that it was.

Our resolution called for the extension of the SEL to Vancouver--the construction of a national open form which would attempt to establish itself as the Marxist, the socialist wing of the new party fighting to win the party to socialism. The Whitney document characterized the Vanguard and the extension of the SEL as being mechanical--that ~~xxx~~ an organization and press had to come up out of the struggles that were to develop in the process of the evolution of the new party and that at present both served to weaken and endanger our integration in the new party. The old man in his discussions on the labor party with JPC. Shachtman etc characterized the formative period of the party as one when we should be working over time to advance our program but Whitney wanted us to drop it. He characterized the Whitney document as liquidationist and voted it down two to one. He also set up a city executive with executive powers to within six months time review the situation with a view to uniting our divided forces.

The experience gained by Branch two with its regroupment open forum added to that the example of Jerry's splendid subscription work, plus the recruitment of a couple of youthful and excellent types, plus our getting the support of the branch two delegates was the day. To top this off it looks like Branch one will come along with us and without very much kicking. Within the next month or so we will be announcing the setting up of a national organization. Before I left we discussed many the practical problems involved and there was strong agreement.

Of course met the tourists out there. When I left they were working with the two new members out there on a project to picket the bomb shelter to be officially opened in front of the court house the next day. They will be staying for a few days in Vancouver working the campus there before shoving off to a real effort to hold meetings at the Regina, Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton Universities. We were intending that they should return through the states, however the Debbs-Weiss meetings don't make it possible or at least practical. We made sufficient contact on the way out that we can anticipate that we will be speaking at a few arranged meetings besides selling the paper on the campus and picking up subscriptions.

picking up this letter on Friday--flash--Jerry just sent in the mail the front page of the Vancouver Sun. There is a four column picture all the brass both military and civilian sitting there in the sun--with an embarrassed look on their faces. Why?. Because they came there to open with all kinds of fanfare a fall-out shelter. But right behind them -- a solid backdrop are the following signs. Let the People Vote on Nuclear Arms on Cdn soil--Disarmament is our shelter--No Nuclear arms in Canada. Ernie's hand shows along with the head of one of our women comrades. Lois phoned in yesterday to tell me that there was mention over the morning news that a group of socialists had appeared at the unveiling of the Vancouver shelter. After I closed the store I say down to write Jerry about this when I suddenly thought to turn on the TV News--and behold. There was Ruth Bullock really giving hell to a government official on the shelter--all he could do was stutter. They don't call her acid drop for nothing.

Yes--received your letter and other before that which I didn't answer. Have heard nothing from your erstwhile associates---I doubt if we will

keep smiling

fraternally

Ross

Incidently next time Warde come through take a look at his very nice scarf--your mother sent it to me--and I had a good one--and Warde didn't.

Young Socialists Picket A-Shelter

Toronto Young Socialist Alliance staged a protest picket Saturday at the recently erected atomic bomb shelter at Queen's Park.

About 15 carried signs claiming there is no defense against atomic war.

"The government is trying

to create an atmosphere of war with these family shelters," said organizer John Wilson.

The Young Socialist Alliance, with offices on Queen st. w., was formed here a year ago and is affiliated with U.S. branches.

July 4/60 Tely

first edition

2***C

The VANCOUVER SUN: Wed., Sept. 28, 1960

Post Office Department, Ottawa.
Authorized as second class mail.



GETTING HER POINT ACROSS, Mrs. Ruth Bullock, of 354 West Sixteenth, North Vancouver, tells G. A. McCarter, provincial co-ordinator of civil defence,

what she thinks about nuclear Government-approved shelter warehouse lawn today.—George Diac

shelters.
on court-

81 Queen Street West
Toronto 1, Ont.
September 28, 1960

The Socialist Workers Party

Dear Comrade Kerry;

For the first time in the recent history of our movement here I have returned from a national gathering convinced that we have reached a solid agreement and will carry it into action.

Within the next month or so we will be announcing the formation of ~~an attempt to establish itself as the socialist wing of the new party~~ national organization which will ~~attempt to establish itself as the socialist wing of the new party~~ attempt to establish itself as the socialist wing of the new party fighting to win the party to a socialist policy. The document entitled The Labor Party and our Immediate Tasks was adopted by a two to one vote. Of course we have adopted such clearly defined statements before. However this convention was so fortunate as to receive a counter document from Comrade Graham of Vancouver Branch No 1. This document interpreting our entry as a "deep entry" spelled this out to mean that we needed notice neither our press the Vanguard nor the SWL--in fact they only serve to disrupt our work in the labor party. This document was defined as liquidationist and rejected by the delegates.

In order to overcome the antagonism that have long existed in the Vancouver area and which resulted in a division of our forces there we have constituted an executive body with executive authority over the two branches which in six months time will review the situation with a view to unifying our forces.

I must express our thanks for the considerable aid your party has been to us in ~~bringing about the present promising situation~~ bringing about the present promising situation. The influence of your entire West Coast membership on our Vancouver comrades has been extremely beneficial. But the greatest contribution has been that of Comrade Dick and Calara of Seattle and particularly Dick who attended the sessions and helped us through them. Speaking for myself I approached this convention with considerable foreboding--Dick said that he would feel much more confident that we could solve the problems if we had a James P Cannon with us. But the best that is in our own numbers with comrade Frasers aid proved able to overcome the difficulties.

The greetings from our British comrades and from the IC came too late to be read to the delegates. But the expression of solidarity with all Trotskyists associated in the International Committee was expressed by the discussions and decisions made by the delegates and a rousing finally of The International

fraternally

Ross Dawson

65
September 30, 1960

The Militant

(Hansen, SWP)
Dear Joe;

I think that it would be best in the good name of the Militant that you find some way of getting around publishing material sent in by Gerry McKinney now of Brandon, Manitoba. I suppose you noticed our coverage of the Brandon Packinghouse workers strike (Sept). If it merited coverage at all I feel quite certain that our handling of it was the correct one.

I am enclosing a clipping from a recent issue of the daily press here on the investigation that is taking place into the dispute and which has obviously turned into an investigation of the financial manipulations of the owners. It would now seem to be absolutely certain that the bosses settled with the union in the hope of evading the investigation.

Our trailblazers dropped in on the strikers and had talks at the headquarters. According to them the strike was lost and some other union was coming in to pick up the pieces. There was no evidence at all that the union boycott against the companies products was having any effect at all.

I wrote up our Sept article as we have established some contacts in the Winnipeg area--otherwise I would have let it go. Then I got a letter from McKinney which in passing expressed opinions along the line of the article that he sent into you. I, ~~therefore~~ ~~therefore~~ He had just moved into the town from Vancouver totally unknown to us until we received his note. I ~~expressed~~ asked him what he thought of the line we had taken--what evidence he had of the effectiveness of the boycott of company products etc. I am afraid he was unable to present any at all.

We have received material from Gerry before. I am afraid that he sees powerful expressions of class solidarity and militancy that we would all like to see everywhere and at all times. He is a good milit but I am afraid that he has little grasp of our ideas as yet. Unfortunately he has had limited party experience. None of the reports that he has sent in that I can recall accurately present the real situation.

fraternally

Ross

I would like to say something about Trent Hutter's reviews--took time out to see both Black Orpheus and Hiroshima Mon Amour--also of course read the eulogy of Vaughan--but that is another department and I owe them something on the labor party which I am afraid I am unable to supply

September 30, 1960

Dear Jerry;

Thanks for the clipping and leaflets. All in all this little job summed up the convention very well. I would think that Branch one would get a real lift out of it and feel very much closer. And now both one and two must see some possibility for a real youth movement out there. All in all a great success--good that the tour was there to strengthen things and good that we had had the previous experience here to work out from.

The photo in the Sun is really terrific--a caricature of a photo. We must have it. Would you phone into the Sun and have them make a stereo matrix of it--pick it up and then send it on to us. I would order it direct but I do not know what it is worth and there might be a ballex with it. It is a big photo but we can make it very thin since we have to keep the four columns otherwise we lose our good signs. The signs show up very well. Glad to see that Ernie got our referendum sign in such a prominent place. Be interesting to know what some of our comrades have to say now about the referendum.

If there are other worthwhile photos - use your judgment - I could send one in the militant
If you don't have the money I would imagine that it can be borrowed from Ruth--our treasurer. And by the way how are you fixed for funds these days? Sorry that I did not have an opportunity to have a long talk with you. There is no doubt that the terrific work you have been doing there has had its impact on all the comrades. Everyone in Branch two speaks highly of you--for them it is an automatic and axiomatic that you be on all important committees and bodies. Knowing the ~~xxx~~ impressionistic and empirical ~~method~~ of our comrades out there I think I can honestly say that both your and Ruth's efforts had very much to do with ~~xxx~~ our ability to get complete agreement on the main document from Branch two and ~~what~~ appears a willingness on the part of branch one to go along with it. It would seem to me that your main influence has been through example--no one can ignore the subscription work. The example has worked. For it appeared obvious to me during the short time I was there that the most viable elements in the party there--Nick and Larry --are looking to you now to see what is to be done. We are now in a position where we have to give leadership. You know example is a form of bull-dozing--after a while more examples become a source of embarrassment and tend to become self-defeating--result in antagonisms. It seems to me that the next period of your work there should be one of patient education. As you know they don't know what the party is. To me Dick's comments on organization and its relation to politics made at the convention were nothing at all--but Reg was really impressed. He was telling me how we must get this part off the tapes for publication sometime in the future.

The next period should be an extremely exhilarating one of building the party--in the sense of laying down the foundations for a functioning Bolshevik group. True some of the comrades are old and it will be hard to teach them new tricks. But some of them want to be functioning Bolsheviks and don't have the slightest idea how to go about it.

Look at the formalistic handling of the chair ~~that~~ Harold tried to enforce and shortly after Fred's handling.

They need to be educated from the ground up on proper Bolshevik relations, and in principled Trotskyist politics. Nothing should be done for granted--everything should be patiently discussed. Despite everything they have a healthy respect for the center here. They talk about a western paper but they know damn well that they couldn't put one out. Look at Shelley's appeal to the center to supply personnel for a west coast tour...when they have sufficient resources to carry one themselves--they just feel that they need some help to go about it. *should you think it not worth the while to educate the left wing remnants of the elements for the new movement are setting in. It can be a good*
 Yes, so far I have been filing your letters aside but when Alan gets in here I will really try to play a role in giving leadership to the movement. *Shelley*

What I think we should do is have the NC comrades out there meet whenever you receive minutes from this end to discuss their contents and to take up matters that you think to be of importance. This Vancouver City executive is very important too. If we handle this right it seems to me that we certainly will get whatever is worthwhile out of both branches. After a while when the comrades get used to discussing serious matters, involved in serious work, ~~taking~~ operating under democratic centralism, a lot of things that various comrades now say will be ignored and after a while be left unsaid. All these people can contribute something to the party--they just can't be allowed to prevail, that's all. *at any rate there is no known way to get rid of them as Reg would like--the only way is by going through experience*
 Now it seems certain that Ruth B will not be going to the Trotsky school. She seemed quite certain that it was out when she drove me over to the air terminal. Reg is very much against it--and she herself feels that he is on good ground. Apparently Reg is not at all well and leans heavily on Ruth. I felt obliged in all honesty to tell her what Warde said to me when her name was raised during the last SWP convention. He considered her too old--he suggested that she might not fit into the school so well. But Ruth is really quite young in many ways besides it seems that older persons regularly go--there have been a couple from Seattle. I told her that I had to some extent looked upon the school as an opportunity for us to train fairly rapidly promising comrades who could possibly be colonized in places like Oshawa, Hamilton and then Winnipeg--comrades who were flexible from the point of view of jobs etc. But this did not decide things. Reg didn't have much to say when I got up and had breakfast with him. He mentioned the big responsibilities that now confront us with the decision of the convention. Yes, I think Reg needs Ruth politically. Ruth told me that she feels that she has grown a great deal in the last year or two but she feels that Reg has stagnated. Of course I told Ruth we expected her to further think the matter out--that we wanted her to go. Now what do you think of Cliff going. He is somewhat lacking in initiative I feel but he is very young and surrounded by some very opinionated and decisive persons. Cliff seems to me to be really committed to the party. More so for instance than I feel that Ernie is at this time although I think he is changing. Alan, who has I think by now since the tour a good idea of Cliff to supplement mine formed on working with him in the future, is anxious that Cliff should have the opportunity.

And what do you think of us launching the new national outfit with something like the English Assemblies of Labor. I would think that it would really go over big in Vancouver..and even be successful here

There are a couple of positive steps that could be taken shortly to get the city executive functioning. Let us arrange the nights that the two branches use the hall for their meetings. Let Ruth return the CCF chairs and have branch one bring over the party's chairs they have

. Why dont we get a mimeograph machine over at the office. I think I would suggest that we strike off a bee to partition off some of the hall into office space for all the files, the machine etc. We should make some book cases that can be lockd and have Bill bring over the party library so that all the comrades can utilize it. Why not have Harold be the branch treasurer, rather the Vancouver district trasurer, I assume that we are going to split the rent and such expenses as were involved in the pic^{ket}. etc.

Dont forget to send me those subs you have on hand so I can get Claire working on the typing job. Other matters that I wanted to take up but I see that I am going to have to lose Sunday---my uni^{be} in Kitchener is 75 and they are all going up for a party which I will have to attend.

Yes, send us the stereo matrix. We want an article on the pboket and also the one I was talking about on the BC election ~~with~~ with modest coverage of the election as a whole but doing a job on the Stalinists and their talk about all-in unity. This issue and possibly the next we will have to muddle along on--then Alan will be here and we can seriously get to work

The Toronto elections are upon us I suppose you noticed

warmest regards

Ross

Ross

Malcolm told me of 5 lectures he gave on the history of the CP. Ruth told me she had the tapes of them. I think it is absolutely essential that we get them off the tapes onto manuscript form - pica typed triple spaced. Ruth says its a big job. No doubt it is - but we must get it done and at once. Malcolm will be able to aid to it once it is typed up - pica - he says he can hardly read elite. If we ourselves cant do it - I have the money to get it done. Straight commercial may be quite expensive - perhaps an ad would get some but short typist forced to stay at home in touch with us. We would have to watch the tapes - one at a time etc. Malcolm will do some more work on this vital project if we give him the manuscripts. He told me he has gaps to fill since reading Traper. Second Volume. Time is slipping away on us.

41-SEE BINDER 1151200
Fall 55 Review
Letter from Nat Secty

Return

INTERNAL BULLETIN

SEPTEMBER 1960

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pointed out to the Frasers that the three National Committee members were the logical body to act, at least in the first instance, yet the two members belonging to the minority split showed their lack of good faith by refusing to attend the special meeting called to deal with this very situation. Various comrades presented examples of their lack of willingness to collaborate and maintained that we have carried compromise to the point where they are demanding no less than complete capitulation from us, that there is a time for compromise and that there is a time for struggle and that the time for struggle has arrived and this was by no means of our making.

A comrade pointed out the need to meet and discuss the political issues such as the Labor Party, and the need was on a national plane, and the Frasers agreed to this. It had been previously pointed out that it was at the next meeting of the Branch after the passing of such a resolution that the split occurred. It was pointed out that these people refuse to reveal their political position in the branch and are determined to continue to do exactly as they please and however they see at the moment, from time to time, without the disciplinary submission to the majority that Bolshevism requires. That this is not a break from the Vancouver Branch but a break from the national organization, and from Trotskyism itself in its true sense. That they have carried their unprincipled struggle against the party and the party comrades outside into the realm of contacts to the point where we are getting reports and questions from these contacts.

Toronto, August 10, 1959.

Dear Comrades:

Comrade Graham has written us several lengthy letters about what I am sure all of us consider to be a most unfortunate development with regard to our forces in Vancouver - the division of our branch into what is in effect two branches.

Several of these letters, including the notes that G. and L. have forwarded us, aside from expressing your determination not to let this division deter you in any way from carrying forward our work, which is certainly gratifying to us, contain lengthy lists of grievances against the other group of comrades. You will appreciate that we have been receiving similar letters from the other comrades but slanted somewhat the other way.

As important as these grievances and charges may be and may become, we do not propose to take them up, to investigate them, weigh them and cast a verdict. This would be a long process--a difficult one which would require, on-the-spot, accepted-as-neutral, impartial investigators. Besides we do not think that to do so would in any appreciable way aid in resolving the main problem--To our mind that is to reach at first some kind of modest working relationship between the two groups in the direction of realizing their complete unification for meaningful work towards the socialist revolution.

Comrade Graham's letters also project several propositions to meet the situation. We have discussed them at length on the Political Committee and I would like to give you some of our thoughts on them.

Comrade Graham proposes that we should undo the recognition that we have given the other comrades. We are not clear as to exactly what he means. Are we being asked to declare one group of comrades as against another group of comrades to be no longer Trotskyists, to be no longer members of our movement? Are we being asked to designate one group as the branch--as the continuator of what was--and the other as some kind of second class formation?

Two of the comrades in the one group are members of the NC--the majority of the West Coast NC members--another was branch organizer up until the division, and another the treasurer. Both groups contain comrades who like Comrade Graham have decades of devotion and dedication to our ideas and our organization.

On what grounds, we ask, are we expected to recognize the one group and not the other? While everyone feels that there are political overtones, political implications to the dispute and the division, no one is clear on just what they are. What is to be our criteria in this case?

While we have not condemned the actions of one group as against the other, neither have we condoned the actions of one or the other. We have only recognized what is an obvious, and unmistakeable fact--that the Vancouver branch that was one now stands divided into two parts. We earnestly seek collaboration with both parts in the interests of the Canadian and international movement.

Comrade Graham makes another proposition--that we should order the other group "back" to discuss perspective and policy in relation to program, then if we find it necessary to divide we do so on what could be considered a more rational basis. The purpose of this proposition is obviously a good one--to seek out the differences in discussion--to resolve them--and if this is not possible to realize a division which would hold the best possible promises of unification in the near future.

A proposal, if it is not merely a formality to settle accounts, must have some possibility of being realized. It appears to us that one of the parties is not at all prepared to entertain an order of this character. This proposition was made in the branch a short time ago--in the form of a motion for an August conference. What do the developments mean out there if not that the time for discussion has passed? There is no reason to think that such a proposal would achieve its purposes as outlined by Comrade Graham.

Of course the order could be issued. Should one group refuse to obey, disciplinary action could be taken--one could be expelled and the other recognized as the branch. If such an action were taken it would not be for refusal to obey the order as such but the implications given to the order--that those who declare willingness to obey are the Trotskyists and that the others are not. We feel sure you will agree that such a method of determining who is and who is not a Trotskyist would be making a fetish of an organizational proposition--willingness to discuss.

No, comrades, whether we like it or not and no matter the degree of blame there is not one Vancouver branch but two branches. This is the reality and we must commence from here. Not threats with damnation and predictions of doom, but what is needed is a serious and honest discussion of how to proceed from here.

We think that it is highly possible, as has been suggested, that the division can yield even positive results. Comrades in both branches have told us of many difficulties in the collaboration of past years which they feel have restricted the numerical growth of the party in Vancouver. We can now enter into a period of comradely competition.

It is necessary to preserve the precious cadres that both groups contain for the movement. It is obvious that our relations are extremely sensitive, that there are many antipathies and much ill-will. It would be quite easy to sustain these feelings and even to further inflame them. It will require considerable maturity and integrity to overcome these dangers.

It is necessary that we immediately strike off forces from each group to constitute a liaison committee. The personnel should be carefully selected. The representatives should meet, not with conditions, demands, ultimatums, but to seek out what can be commonly agreed upon. Our objectives should be simple. For instance it is essential where our areas of activities overlap that we do not get at cross purposes, that our all too few forces collaborate effectively. If we approach this in the proper spirit we may well get a new measure of one another. In the process, our collaboration will grow and our organizational division will resolve itself either in a unification into one branch or a division which will be a purposeful one and in complete harmony with the needs of our movement.

Fraternally

Ross Dowson Natl. Secretary

Handwritten letter from RD

Wed. Oct. 12, 1960

Dear Ruth & Jerry (Houle, Vancouver):

Couple of rush notes here for you!

Meant to send the Calgary clippings long ago. Pat put them on the SIC hall bulletin board!

Received your articles this morning. Very good. Thought you would have more to say on the shelter demonstration. Think I will have to cut Angus down a bit in the edit. He won't go for it. Thought I would modify the impression in the CP participation in the election that they did so consciously at the service of the SC party. (*Social Credit—ed.*)

Letter from tour tells us they were in Brandon with Jerry McKinney for the holiday week-end. Very good meeting at Calgary – good paper sales at Edmonton & Saskatoon – they split up! If Pawley is unable to arrange anything in Winnipeg they will be coming thru to arrive here this week-end; I will have them write you.

Received Harold's notes of the city executive – has you talking about an open party as Whitney would pretend the line means. I am telling him that I don't care to receive anything but the minutes – motions passed – don't want his impressions.

Ernie told me of recent developments. If we are to have a split – let us all keep calm – no brash statements – clear cut obviously correct motions – so it is all on their shoulders.

Just starting on (the) paper alas. But store is in fairly good order now for Alan to take over. Have placed major Christmas order except Random House. Holiday weekend was lost by paper, in fixing up the headquarters. Harry, Joan and John decided to go home. Bill failed to turn up. Ernie arrived late so I had to really pitch in. Looks good so we will be ready for first Sunday night forum Oct. 22. Then the elections.

Will have PC meeting as soon as possible.

Warmest regards,

Ross

November 1
Saturday, 1960

Dear Jerry;

The sub situation is ok, we have received them all--Cliff went you a pile of receipts that had been gathering up here. I checked the book and we have 231 subs tallied from Vancouver --6 more than you account for--but six came in here in September in someone elses handwriting--- If I am not mistaken some one gave them to me when I was out there. The tour itself got something over 1,300 this year. The arrangement of those meetings really cut into the sub work of the tour and of course more time was spent on contact work than ever before--I think well worth it

Yes, it was a good leaflet we put out on the forum---John Darling did it. He has some real talent along this line. He has done a very good sign for the rummage sale which will be coming off this coming Saturday.

Yes we certainly must get a definite deadline for the paper. It is now in the hands of the printer I am expecting a call from him anytime now to get the last of the galleys. We will be off tomorrow. ~~The arrival~~ The arrival of the tour did not solve any immediate problems on the contrary created a great many more for a few weeks. Joe waked right back into his job which was a good thing. And now Alan is finding his feet. Cliff is staying with me and will be away in about a week. John is not working but has now got a little more settled

Picking this note up again November 4th--the paper is out and the rummage sale preparations well underway. Sent you 100 copies airmail which you should have well before getting this note. After having got the paper to bed I came back to clear off the big ping pong table so that we could get ready for the mailing and the rummage sale. Imagine my surprise when I discovered your article on the BC elections amongst other clippings....just sitting there...overlooked when I was making the layout the night before. Pat and Joan were buzzing away around the table then pushing me up to an end. At the time while I knew we were overset I was suprised to see how little overset we were. Took out a letter to the editor that we received, one of Ernie's reviews, dropped another article that I had worked out suprised to see that Reg's article on the Federation's action re Cuba got in so easily. And there is the explanation--your article sitting there. The stuff I planned on lifting is good for another issue but not the BC election material. I feel all the more badly about it in the light of what happened to your other items. I think the amplification of your material on the bomb shelter picket was a necessary one- Cliff did it and I think it is a good job. As for the edit--well I wanted to get the one in that we planned--the call, Ceylon had to be handled--I was doubtful about Angus wanting to be written up on such a scale of approval--then of course along came the new party victory at Peterboro and Niagara throwing ~~and~~ a matter as this pretty much into the shade. I would have written up something on these two by-elections but space was tight and we can say something about it of a positive matter in the next issue---the election issue.

And here it is Sunday afternoon November 5th--amusing isn't it The rummage sale has come and gone. The youth were involved in their pro-Cuba picket at the US embassy at 2 and felt it impossible to help in the rummage sale so your truly aided. Of course it took all day what with cleaning up.

But here I will take up some of the items that you raise serially;

Literature; Ruth B wrote us a line with regards to this. She asked us if we were agreeable to handling literature from here. Of course we are agreeable and Alan replied to this effect. However I think that it is preferable for Vancouver to bring in its own literature, set up its own accounts etc. It seems senseless for literature to come here via the mail and then be reshipped--doubling postal costs. Besides you order enough, or at least can well do so if you get an active person behind the literature to make it worthwhile clearing it your self and make some money on it. Should we not charge you mail and customs if we have to re-ship to you out there? I am strongly in favor of a branch Vancouver's size setting up its own literature agent and shipping in stuff direct from both Pioneer and New Park. I wouldn't bother about other accounts but get that stuff from here. ...like the Connolly books, the ELO stuff.

Why don't we pool all the literature that is in Vancouver, bring it all together down at the headquarters. Yes I don't doubt that there is quite a pile around there. Bill always had lots! We will take anything you have more copies of than you think you can reasonably handle. We will send you other material of equal value which you don't have. Of course there is quite a bit of material out of print. In defence of Marxism by ET is the latest. Anything in fact that is not on the Pioneer List. Do you have a copy? I would think that the Vancouver comrades should have first go at the out of print material. What with the store here our comrades are pretty well fixed--and we have a good library. But after the comrades have a go--send this material our way.

Have we been able to do anything about partitioning a portion of the ~~store~~ and setting up files and a library available to comrades only.

Carefully putting all the old material aside and starting our files over again would be good if we were only concerned about putting out the paper and not carrying feature material in the paper. But in the next year I think we should start carrying feature material--good solid Marxist educational material on the Canadian scene like we used to manage to do some while back. Besides I must start writing for the ELO on a regular basis. So we really need our files. In about another month I think we should be in good enough shape to be able to meet your needs from our files here. Yes, I don't think you should try to set up really rounded files out there at this time.

The paper. In about another month we will be able to get onto a regular deadline--after we clear away the election issue. ~~Worked~~ There certainly must be a regular deadline and once we show we intend to meet it it would clear up a great many difficulties not only with our own writers but with the printer etc. We will be having a PC meeting in this coming week to discuss among other matters the coming issue of the paper...how we will handle the elections. This year ~~with a minimum~~ since Vancouver through your making effective use of the paper, I favor our putting out two editions even though it will cost us a fair amount more to do so. We have had a discussion on the branch executive and the majority rejected the idea of a leaflet for the mayoralty in favor of the paper which would give a more rounded idea of our views and more effectively tie in the campaigns in the wards. So we would put out one issue with the front and back pages entirely on the Toronto elections. Then another issue for everyone outside Toronto with say two articles on the Toronto elections but other material. We will also have to discuss whether we intend to stick to our deadline on the joint Vancouver Toronto statement setting up the new organization. I haven't been able to do anything on the statement because the Lamport

Nov 20 3

TTC

iring from the B has updated the whole election campaign. Here we are well away from nomination day--usually the time when the campaigns open and it is all well underway from the press and radio point of view. Newman is carrying programmatic ads in the dailies. In fact we may well have to go to press before the nomination day even though last year we decided what wards we would run on on the very day of nomination...as we did not know for sure where it would be that we would be filling in. I will let you know what the B decision is on this and the deadline as soon as possible. Will probably be meeting on Tuesday night.

I gather from Ruth' or Reg's covering note on the Cuba stand of the BC Federation that we are to expect an article on the convention as a whole. Right now I have no suggestions as I haven't had a chance to pull the clippings together. I have been intending to write a feature article on the question of Cdn trade union autonomy. But if we decided to swing into the elections right away and come out before nomination I won't be able to do this. We have been compelled to protest the way the radio has been giving time to the others at our exclusion--one of our protest s has got a good response. I am to have 10 minutes on Foster Hewitts Station this Saturday. I must write them today and find out when they want to tone it. It must be submitted written before broadcast at least 24 hours. Tomorrow night I will be opening up a series of talks to a group of what appears to be first rate trade union militants in the teamsters. Remember a Hensby that Harry used to talk about---came in from the West Coast was around the C for years. Well it got so that I couldn't understand what we were doing or where we were going and one afternoon I told Harry so and he replied he felt the same way. So he drew up a chart--a family tree on the situation. After several talks we concluded that we couldn't support the Nealen caucus that Harry had been up to his neck in but should consider setting up a new caucus. This appears to have been Hensby's line. He came into the store a few days later and had a talk with him--since then he has been coming to the forums, we have had several more talks and has proposed this class--he looks upon those who will attend as the core of the caucus which will be moving out slowly. He turns out to be an excellent proletarian militant. He has reservations about Trotskyism but they seem to involve early history--ant anyrate he seems to be going with us all the way. The class is going to be on Marxian economics but really applied to current problems confronting militants. The first one for instance I intend to deal with what the working class is--its revolutionary position in society, its progressive character, the nature of the class struggle--to lay down a firm foundation for a class struggle policy. how the unions came to be, who organized, the revolutionary perspective that the early American unions set themselves. Once I get two or three underway I hope Alan can take them over. I've got Hensby reading Cannon on American Trotskyism. He has a real core of militants around him in his shop. He is about 35 or a little more. Wants to help in the election campaign. I expect we will be able to recruit him---and with him some others. Harry has really done some excellent work. We need some older workers--trade union militants--in our branch badly

Glad to hear that the class on the transitional program is underway.

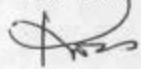
Havent got the tape recorder that Lois is going to give us yet so hold onto the tapes. Yes we need them. Very carelessly we have no other record of the convention. I must go through them so that we can make an accurate report of the proceedings for those unable to attend and for the record. Yes it is good to hear your own voice. Why dont you tape your next speech before giving it--a practice run. I certainly would like to tape this coming Saturday's talk first. I found this method a really valuable experience when I was making those broadcasts for Ross Leslie

4

Did you get the caucus meeting on youth work? Most important. If the New Party or COT youth there provide us with a real area for activity it would seem to me to be correct that we really play down the Independent N.Y.S.A. Here the C youth is nothing. They had a convention last week. It has no real connections, mostly U of T club. It would be foolish for us here to restrict our activities in order to work in there. There was a youth caucus here to discuss our orientation. The New Party youth it was decided was a long term orientation--it was agreed that we had some real possibilities for growth on the basis of our own work. We are having some difficulties in the youth. Joe has been having his ups and downs, John D is going to have to be straightened up. Very aggressive guy but without any experience and a certain resentment at being questioned and to working along with others. He is going hell bent ahead with a youth mimeo paper for which he appears to be writing article after article. There are going to be some run ins ~~from~~ as I see it but I guess we will survive.

More later

warmest regards



Ross

Here is a copy of a letter I sent Ernie
Return it as it is the only copy I have

Dear Jerry and Malcolm;

Here is the score on the paper

We hope to go to press within the week. We can use copy immediately. Of course we want the BC Federation item. Don't know whether you think there is anything on SC worth carrying - particularly the threat of more anti-labor legislation. We could use an item on the picket in support of Cuba.

Last Toronto municipal election we set up the November issue so that what is normally page 3 when the paper was refolded made a passable page 1. And we refolded all the papers going out of Toronto area. In other words we used one edition with adjustments. How do you feel about this now that we have a fairly good sub base in Vancouver which has also been gained on the basis of door to door canvass. Can we get away with this or do you think we should put out another edition. "Without too much trouble we could ~~xxxxxx~~ put out an election edition with one and four all election then rewrite some of this add new material and lay out a new page one and four for outside Toronto circulation. I would think that it would cost about 100 dollars extra.

Let me know as soon as you can your opinion about this.

I can use copy right away.

fraternally

Rees Dawson

Sunday November 13, 1960

Dear Percy;

I have a problem here

Long ago I decided that I would never do this. Your aid has been of inestimable value--there have been times when I have wondered what we would have done without it. As you know it has been so considerable that I have felt that many times circumstances surrounding our work right here did not justify our monopolizing it and considerable has gone south and across the ocean. That of course is as it should be from our point of view

Well last month we received an emergency appeal from across the sea. They are on the verge of expanding their press into a larger format and things are opening up again what with the Labor Party coming out for unilateral disarmament and the dispute on Clause 4. Just at this juncture they have suffered a serious financial set-back. Since we (you) helped them before they logically turned to us.

Over the past month we have been draining off every thing we possible could and sending it their way. It was obvious that we could not meet their full needs but I was hoping that the series of donations we sent there way would be sufficient to take off the strain and they would find their way. A day or so I received the enclosed note. Unfortunately we cannot do anymore without really putting the squeeze on. I feel impelled to write them to this effect. However there circumstances appear to be such that I have decided to break my previous decisions never to bother you

I would hate to think that I have left any stone unturned and so I am wondering what the situation is with you. You can be sure I will fully understand if there are any difficulties in the way.

Warmest regards

Ross
Em 6-1454

Robinson in chair

Membership and contacts-report by Adair on Katz and Jones-who working exceptionally long hours-will ease off and be able to attend before Christmas. Report on Peter L.

Educationals -- Internal report and comments on John D's educ
educational on SWP Bulletin- External report and discussion o
on Detroit comrades speech on US elections. Attendance 44 pl
plus children. good discussion. Motion that we send a letter
o f thanks to Detroit-passed.

Educational Schedule---tonight -Kent on elections.

November 22 The Fight against war and our proletarian military policy. ~~was~~ elected to give it. Black

November 29 -The National question & Socialism-passed
speaker--Pryce

External November 19 --election meeting-open to candidates. Kent, Adair, Black speakers

November 26 Round Table-extemporaneous--MC
Adair

December 4 Motion that we hold a meeting on Cuba passed. Ken Speaker--VO who has been coming b around and interested in Cuba to be asked to speak also--

Educational--discussion on whether we should contest Ward 2 or Ward 6 aldermanic or Board of Control.

Motion that we do not run against any labor endorsed candidate -ie-May Birchard even though there is a suspicion she is a Liberal- Ward 2--passed

Motion that we run Adair for Board of Control--passed.

Bannon and John D asked that their names be recorded as opposed to this motion. They favor contesting Ward 6 aldermanic where there is a labor endorsed and a CP aldermanic candidate

YOUTH-- report on their B of E candidate campaign...dovetailing theirs with ours in Ward 6 that they are contesting Social-- proceeding with social Saturday December 3 to wind up election drive.

TU-PAC--- Report by White on meeting with Siren and De Havill
 and caucus situation. Reported on OFL PAC meeting and opposi-
 tion to exclusion of UE Mine Mill ranks. Kent reported on
 rumoured terms announced on conditions of affiliation for tea-
 sters, operating engineers. TU--covered in next Vanguard

Report by Kent on second session of class he is holding with the master militants--well attended. Breaking into class to discuss a caucus program that they want to set up.

NEW Business--- report by executive on assignments of posts
Organizer-Adair. LP work--Strong. Youth-Bannon

union co-ordinator--passed.

Report by Pryce on CP youth meeting distribution and discussion.

Calendar read

Meeting adjourned

December 15, 1960

Dear Ruth and Jerry;

No one is down here yet so I am going to try and get a fair letter off to you. In the last two weeks the situation in the teamsters union has been moving very fast and we are consolidating some real forces. Next Wednesday we will be bringing three excellent proletarian revolutionary types into the branch and it will be only a matter of another week or so that we will have another two. We owe this all to Harry and the fine work that he has been doing in the teamsters. I think I told you about the reorientation that we brought about in his work. The Neale group that Harry was working with have been going steadily to the right--when we pulled out of there and made some serious overtures towards Hensby things really broke for us. Hensby--remember all the fears expressed about this fellow--he is one of the best revolutionary types that I have come across. A real worker militant searching for someone to collaborate with. The fellows we are recruiting are all his boys at his shop. He is really lapping up Cannon. A fellow about 35 years of age with considerable experience in various unions...comes from the West Coast--his wife is a good type from Nanaimo--she is one of the hold-outs for a week or two. Really pitched into our election campaign. This recruitment is just what our branch here needs. We are clearing out some dead wood--Peter Schalts and Peter Lennox and I think we are on the way towards getting us a proletarian branch. Of course this is taking up a lot of time. I hear Joe coming across the floor upstairs now-- He it is Gerry McKinney. And now fifteen minutes later I have him addressing wrappers from the list of Cuban names that we have just received from Hansen. Yes it is taking a lot of time. Nominations are coming up in the teamsters local next Sunday and we are running a slate. Problems --we are not big enough to run all our own people yet we are in a position to move in between conflicting forces in the local between three factions--Thompson-McDougal and Neale--and I gather in this conflict are possibly a decisive force. The fellows want to put out a paper and it seems that we are in a position to do so. We will have to have this all written up and ready for the printer Monday so we can get it Friday --then Harry and Joe are taking time off --a week or two to go through the jurisdiction of the local--Toronto to North Bay--Ottawa-Hamilton. This estimation of the possibilities may seem somewhat grandiose but a couple of days ago they introduced me to a business agent in the local who wants to run on our slate for president. McDougal opened up with a red baiting attack on Harry last Sunday--all about the expulsions from the CCF for Trotskyism--but it seems that we came out of it well. Some think that it will go no further than the usual type of grape vine campaign now however it may well be hitting the papers--I am preparing them for the worst as I feel that Lewis who is the teamsters lawyer may use it to attack the new party left on a cross-Canada basis. We will see. Hensby is going to lead us to more workers no doubt. He brought all these guys and a few more who are good and have been coming to the old forum to a class that I was leading at Harry's place. It was supposed to start on a simple plane on the situation confronting the working class, nature of society, the class struggle leading up to a program for a left trade union caucus. Have called it off temporarily--for one thing I was unable to go during the election campaign because of other meetings and of course everyone is tied up in the immediate trade union struggle in the local but we will be able to get more of these going. This union leads to lots of contact possibilities. Last night Harry and Joe attended a meeting of another barn to discuss problems there. Hensby knows that ex seaman now UAW fellow in Oshawa--I forget the name--yes--Ed something--we will be holding a meeting right after the New Year in Oshawa.

Things are moving on the friends of Cuba front too. Vern O has been inspired by these developments. Been coming down to the bookstore--giving us sizeable donations. And we have been encouraging him to work this area. and he is doing it with considerable success. He phoned me the other day to ask me what I thought of the situation. He has spoken at one of the Unitarian church groups and it seems that all three reverends at the three Toronto area groups are seriously interested. He came across a doctor who was down there and it definitely interested in a committee-- Prof McNaught also. Vern is leaving

next week for a trip to Cuba and when he comes back we will make the pulling together moves. He has arranged to have three or four hours talk with George Lavan who is on the staff of the Cuba committee. Joe has been giving Vern some help. George Bryant has also responded to this opportunity. We may well set up an office here and move toward launching a national movement. Vern is contacting McOrmack, Federman and Hood of the labor council. Will let you know of the next moves after the New Year.

Made the decision to move the paper from Merchants the other day when it took them over a week to be so good as to take up our paper after all material was set up but the lead item. I find that they squeezed the new Cdn Operating Engineers union paper in between and god knows what else. Alas I find that Ed Walker has't got a label so we cannot move there. But right after this issue I am going to go the rounds to see who we can place it with. This week end I will be on the Teamsters sheet. But we also want to get the December issue away before Christmas. In the issue you just received I did not put any names on the two contributions as I was not authorized to do so. Fred's came in quite late. If we had gone ahead with the November issue as we had planned it would not have made it. Have received a letter to be published in Reg's name on the calling all socialists appeal. Have also received two items from Ken Grieve. Came just too late for the issue just off. They have a ~~gagman~~ pompous comment entitled---"It is my understanding M Bruce is still "literary editor" in the BC area, so I am forwarding copies to him... I decided that it would be well to forward the copy directly to you, in case you have not received reports from out ~~there~~ here on either important event." So here he is by-passing Malcolm. The items are informative and interesting. Much too long---114 lines on Pauling alone---6 pages of copy almost. The political conclusions are sectarian. Nothing is said incidentally about the leaflet distributed in the name of the Forum which I think is very good. The report on the unemployed meeting contains some valuable material in it but it is also very long. What do you say to you or Malcolm calling Ken over and editing it from there. What do you say to enforcing the decision of the convention in this respect.

We will be getting the paper out in the week from the 26 to the 30th---let us make the 26th the deadline here. Let me know sooner than that what I can expect from Vancouver---are there any more statements like Reg's coming through etc.....

In Grieve's note he throws a few kudos your way for your excellent contribution from the floor at the unemployed meeting. But he has a lengthy complaint about your apparently having become "a member of the loose caucusing school." So what is the score? are we fee wheeling between both one and two?

Got a long letter from Reg dated November 16 and I can well imagine that the situation is rather hot out there. He mentions as a foot note that he intends to have a frank discussion with you about "the position he is assuming in the minds of some of the comrades." I see your fine Italian hand is behind many things---even my own decision that it would perhaps be best to send only one copy of the minutes to Vancouver so that we would be sure to have a meeting of the BC comrades and an opinion of the BC comrades there as a group and not individuals.

Hard to see just what the real picture is out there---of course there Bill is back in the thick of things with his letters of injured tone-positive approach. I suppose if I went through the letters closely and weighed them in the light of my own past experiences with the various comrades I could form an accurate picture and could make some pertinent comments on the various episodes. Is it worthwhile.

From glancing through the correspondence despite everything it seems to me that we are still making positive progress in the direction of the decisions taken at the convention. Oh yes Ruth is busking at any idea of fusion. But I see from the most recent minutes we have that no 2 is sending in their responses to the edit calling on all socialists---we have Reg's as I noted before---and I see we are to expect one from Malcolm and another from the forum signed by Fred and Shelley. Then I would gather that the talks

on the transitional program have had effect. I think that the little leaflet distributed at the Paulus meeting was very good. "first time I have seen us raise anything along the line of the transitional program in BC. That was a real alugh that report in the minutes of Branch one that ~~transitional~~ "In general every resolution was in line with our transitional program." The sentence before read "BC Fed convention very wishy--washy." Ruth adds a little note asking for our opinion of the Pauling meeting leaflet.

But it is 12;30---have just finished mailing the paper and getting a fewclines more on this letter to make it worthwhile sending on and then taking up later.

warmest regards

Rms.

If you have time it might be a good idea to drop a note to Cliff--send it here and I will forward it---it will force me to add a few comments--havent dropped him a line since he left my bed and board.

December 28, 1960

Dear Hannah;

I had hoped to get this note off as a form of Christmas greeting however now it is almost New Years so happy New Year.

And have you seen Cliff. No doubt you know that he is at the school. Probably he has been into the big city for the odd visit —if only for Skogie's funeral. I hope you have been able to spend a little time with him, show him the sites—you know he is really and truly from the farm with only a little of the guile and sophistication of city life rubbed into him yet. Probably he has ~~has~~ brought you somewhat up to date. But he couldn't have brought you up to date with the biggest and most important development yet.

And it is all because of Harry. Which shows to go you. A few weeks ago we took in a new recruit—a week later we took in four more—last night we took in another and what I suppose could be called a qualitative change has come to our little branch. Not just a sudden influx of new members which is terrific but an influx which gives a qualitatively different atmosphere to our branch—all real solid proletarians. They are all from one union a union where there is a developing ferment—all unionists known and respected by their work mates to varying degrees. So that each one of them some more than others open up new doors for us. Right now we are in the midst of a big election struggle—we have a caucus around us and are running an extensive slate in the election—two of our comrades are on the slate although our most qualified are not eligible. The election in the Toronto teamsters is January 1st and the week following. The comrades think that we have a good possibility of taking the election. We have put out an excellent election sheet—the size of the Vanguard. It is having a big impact. The opposition is tough but so far haven't been able to react effectively. But they will—probably redbait Harry who isn't running but is recognized as a big wheel in the caucus. But in my opinion given the specific situation this won't be too effective.

One of the new recruits is a real house a fire—with wide experience in various unions—a strong party man. He probably more than Harry has been pishing these workers our way. Very witty and amusing. Another of the recruits is a young worker who is almost illiterate but very intelligent—reminds me of what Vic Hugh was like when he first came around. Wants to know everything reads tries hard. He has read the communist manifesto five times. Worried no end about his difficulty in understanding what he reads. The other day he was complaining to Joe how he just can't understand all the books that he knows he must read. So our house-afire Joe turns to him in impatience. Well do you know what the hell you want. Oh sure Joe I know what I want. Well then throw away the goddam books. This young guy has quite a sense of humour himself. He was over-head asking one working who the hell is this guy Trotsky anyway what barn does he work out of. Sounds to me like we should put him in anyway cause he might be a good representative for the foreign language workers.

Well now with your broader experience with our New York activities and meetings have you any words of advise as to how we can do better. I know one thing—our educational program is going to have to be better as we got quite a gang to assimilate. And we are going to be working in quite a large caucus which is going to feed us more. Remember that Ed Reid in Oshawa. We sent him a copy of the paper and the next morning he phoned in to tell us that it is the biggest thing that has happened in Cdn unionism in at least 10 years. The Star today and the Globe and Mail both had simple factual articles on the caucus and the paper.

And what do you hear from Ernie. He got fired the other day from that cushy job at Carlton street. He organized the fellows in the Canadian union and they told him he didn't have the interests of the company at heart. So now the fellows are seeking certification at the same time ET's reinstatement. The mausing part of the whole thing is that they can't find out what the name of the firm is so that they can prosecute it. They supeoned the chief engineer and he didn't know apparently—they have a dozen fronts. He has a new job—at a fair sized steel fabricating shop organized by the UAW so he will be in an industrial union. Alan is up there now with him—as Bill has returned to Scotland—he says for seven or eight months.

And have you writtne to Ruth and Jerry . 2183 York, Vancouver. I am sure they would be plased to hear from you.

Have you seen the terrific book—The Graphic Art of German Expressionism. we have it here in the store. Was going to give it to myself as a Christmas present but there are so many books that were more worth while—I gave myself the second volume of the documents of the Third International \$14.25. Spent the Christmas with the family at Joyce and Joes—Joe has a terrific studio right across the elngth of his new home with a palstic bubble roof. But his work is still characterless although technically interesting.

And what have you been doing- Havent seen anything in the ISR or is it to be the next issue. Havent seen any photos of your sculpture and didn't see your face in the ~~Saba~~ Fair Play for Cuba picket.

warmest regards

Ross

December 29, 1960

Dear Comrades;

This morning we received a copy of the minutes of the November 20th meeting of the City Executive. There is a notation at the bottom of the minutes to the effect that they were carried on December 20th. We gather that you have adopted a procedure of only forwarding us minutes that have been approved by the next meeting. The recent minutes seem to us to be very good and have been adopted as accurate by the executive. Since this procedure presents us with a considerable time lag we would appreciate it if you would consider instructing the secretary to send us our copy just as soon as he is able to transcribe them from his notes--and not wait until the next meeting, and their formal adoption.

The following are a few opinions on recent developments in Vancouver as revealed in the November 2 and 20th minutes.

It is good to note your enthusiastic reaction to the perilous position that the Cuban revolution appeared to be in around the time of the US Navy's maneuvers at Guataname base. From the reports that we received and published in the paper of the response that you evoked from forces outside our own ranks it appears that there is a firm basis for the constation of a FPFCC. We note Comrade Briar's motion that we endeavor to stimulate the BC Federation of Labor to take the lead.

We think that it was somewhat premature to have called the picket demonstration in the name of the FPFCC as we believe you did when in reality no committee existed outside of ourselves. Following the adoption of Comrade Briar's motion we note no directives are mentioned as to its realization. We think that it is advisable to assign some very responsible comrade who has a proven ability to freely move amongst the forces we have hope will help to constitute the committee. This work promises to be one of the most fruitful areas of activity in the coming year. Should the city executive already have assigned a responsible comrade to this activity would you inform us who it is and we will place him in contact with the comrade working in this field here in Toronto. Within the next three weeks we anticipate that we will have done sufficient preparatory work to establish such a committee here in Toronto which will have leading persons in the Unitarian Church, educationalists such as Professor McNaught and we hope some prominent CCFers and trade unionists.

It would seem to us that the decision taken by the city executive on November 2 to proceed with the November 5 picket, unless comrades Briar and Lloyd ~~xxxxxxx~~ were already known to be in agreement, was not too satisfactory. The motion to proceed, we note, was taken by a vote of two comrades out of a five man body. It would seem to us that while formally correct since a majority of the five were in attendance that it is inadvisable to operate on such a basis.

We note that the November 20 minutes record "Branch 2 request that Branch 1 does not use the hall for public meetings without consultation, Branch 1 may use the hall for educational classes and their own meetings. We also have at hand copies of a letter from Branch 2 to Branch 1 December 2 and another from Branch 1 to Branch 2 dated November 30.

We do not understand how Branch 1 interprets the record as we have it here to mean that Branch 2 is prohibiting them from using the hall for public discussions or meetings. X We can only deplore what appears to us to be a petulant reaction on the part of Branch 1--"that we have terminated our use of the hall on Thursday nights pending a release from your restriction." We think that Branch one should be consulted with regards to use of the hall for public meetings, that the use of the hall should be on the basis of mutual consultation. We think that certain moves should be made to overcome any misunderstandings on this matter which could lead to a series of setbacks in the co-operative activities so far realized.

To ensure that the branches do not get at cross purposes with regards to subjects chosen for public meetings, the arrangements with various persons to speak at the meetings etc, we would propose that the city executive assume entire responsibility for the hall and every aspect of its operations. This ~~xxxxxx~~ is in the spirit of the formal decision taken by the convention that we should move in the direction of fusion in action. The use of the hall by Branch 1 for educational classes and their own meetings was in this direction, as to with the proposition that the branch libraries should be brought together in the hall etc etc. We have anticipated that all public activities of the Trotskyists, since at the convention we arrived as a clearly defined orientation, would be joint efforts arranged through the city executive. We do not see any basis for Branch 1 and Branch 2 carrying on ~~independent~~ public forums independent of ~~xxxxxx~~ one another.

We note comrade McPherson's motion that Branch 2 invite Branch 1 to participate on a 50 50 basis in the leadership of some classes. And the affirmation that the city executive assures both branches of their rights to conduct educational classes. We favor joint action by the Vancouver Trotskyists to the fullest extent possible. We think that public activities in the name of Trotskyism should be joint activities. If because of past relations we are unable to realize this all down the line at this time we think that at this time at the very minimum it is necessary to have some medium through which such activities can be cleared so that there is no undesirable conflict or confusion. This medium should be the city executive.

So that Branch 1 is not placed in an inferior position either in its own mind or in reality we think that it is advisable that the responsibility for the hall be placed in the hands of the city executive and that all activities related to the hall be cleared through it. Branch 1 and two should share both the privileges and the responsibilities.

We note comrade Lloyd's motion that regular channels of communicating Toronto Branch minutes should be re-established. We take it that this is a request to the Toronto Branch to send both Branch 1 and Branch 2 besides the City Executive copies of its minutes. This is a minor technical matter that could readily be met. However there is a motivation to the motion with which we cannot agree--"because this city executive is not a permanent committee of this party."

The convention rejected the orientation of Branch 1 as presented by comrade Whitney's document--implicitly endorsed the more open activities of Branch 2 around the SIC--and directed the entire party towards the formal constitution of a national public socialist wing of the New Party. The convention set up the city executive to ~~xxxxxx~~ co-ordinate our activities in Vancouver--to allow us to fuse our forces in Vancouver. It did not pose a formal fusion, it did not order organic unity of the two branches. It set up the city executive to overcome the division, to make it that we did not get at cross purposes in our Trotskyist activities--so that we could fuse in action.

To be sure, as it is presently constituted, the CE is not a permanent committee of the party. The decision taken by the convention was that at the end of six months we would review the situation. Perhaps some of us visualized that at that time we might be able to realize an organic unification of our Vancouver forces, others the reconstitution of the city executive on a different basis-perhaps without too much concern for formal representation from this or that branch. The six months has not yet gone by and no purpose is served at this time to speculate on what propositions will be advanced and what decisions will be taken. But barring organic unification of the two branches it would seem to us that ~~the~~ some body in many ways similar to the present city executive will continue to exist.

We are not sure what connotation is given to the city executive by designating it as a non-permanent committee. Of course it is not more important than the branches but it is the body through which other national party bodies can most intelligently operate since it is through it as a united Trotskyist movement we operate on a public basis in the Vancouver area. The task as we see it at this stage is not to establish the rights of the individual branches in the Vancouver area--they are well established. It is necessary to establish an intelligent and effective working relationship that can only be realized through the city executive at this time.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Dear Howard,

Winnipeg

(Forward in 1960-1961)

You will have probably noticed that the Vanguard is placing heavy emphasis on the new party developement. We are attempting to carry reports of all the important activities of the left-wing in the various areas. Unfortunately, there has been a dearth of material from Manitoba. It is in this connection that I am writing to you.

As the whole process of the organization of the new party gains momentum, it is essential that information be available to the left-wing so that they will aware of each other's activities across the country. So far, the Vanguard has been the only paper of a national character to undertake this task; you can expect the official organs of the movement to be very circumspect when it comes to reporting the activities of the socialists.

George Nasir, in a letter to us, mentioned in passing that you had asked him to get something into the Vanguard about a CCF meeting at which Rae Murphy had spoken. As you are probably well aware, George's health is none too well and we cannot depend on him in this respect.

We were wondering if you would undertake to send us clippings, information or reports-- anything at all which would be of interest to the new party left and which could be reported in the paper. Of course, we will refrain from using your name unless you wish otherwise.

Is it possible that there could be other people in other areas of Manitoba who might correspond with us in this respect? If so, we would be interested in making contact with them.

I think I should emphasize that it will be the contents rather

than the quality of the reports that we will be interested in, so it does not matter whether the material comes in in~~x~~ polished formu--just send us the facts and we can write it up ourselves.

Hope to hear from you soon,

Comradely regards,

P.S. I thought you would be interested in the good news that the old gang of Bryden & Co were ousted at the last Toronto and District Annual meeting Council of the CCF. It looks as though there is going to be some progress in Ontario at last. We will be carrying a report on it ~~xx~~ in the next issue of the paper.